

POL 27 - 14 BIAFRA - NIGERIA
9/1/68

STATE DEPARTMENT SYSTEMATIC REVIEW
☐ Retain class'n ☐ Change/Classify to
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EO 12958, 25X
FPC/HDR by SC Date: 3/18/96
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0615

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND959503
By MW NARA Date 10/5/05

14

POL 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria

293817

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

SECRET

Classification

31 DEC 68 02 20 Z

FOR OC
ONLY

Origin
Info

ACTION: Amembassy PARIS PRIORITY

EXDIS

CODE ROOM: Please repeat to above post incoming telegram LAGOS 15624, section one of two and two of two, dated December 27.

POL 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria
END.

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(1)

Drafted by: EUR:FBX:CR Tanguy:msa Tol. Ext. 12/29 Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: EUR/FBX - Mr. Tanguy

Clearances:

AFW - Mr. R. Smith (substance) *OK*

EUR - Mr. Beaupre S/S - Mr. Brown *OK*

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Classification

FORM 8-65 DS-322

0616

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Authority: VIND 954503
By: MVA Date: 10/5/02

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Pol 27-14 Briefing Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 148

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ORIGIN SS 10

INFO /010 R

DRAFTED BY: EUR:FBX: CRTANGUY
APPROVED BY: EUR/FBX-MR. TANGUY
AFW-MR. R SMITH (SUBSTANCE)
EUR-MR. BEAUDRY
S/S-MR. BROWN
66645

P 310220Z DEC 68
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

007424

SECRET STATE 293817

EXDIS:

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE DEC 27, 1968 FROM LAGOS
REPEATED TO YOU:

QUOTE SECRET LAGOS 15624

EXDIS:

SUBJ: NIGERIA: US OPTIONS:

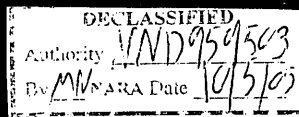
1. AS ADMINISTRATION, PRESENT AND INCOMING, UNDER INCREASING DOMESTIC PRESSURE TO ASSUME MORE ACTIVE AND MORE DIRECT USG ROLE IN NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR IN ORDER TO SAVE LIVES, I OFFER FOLLOWING COMMENTS ON OPTIONS OPEN TO USG AND THEIR LIKELY CONSEQUENCES AS SEEN FROM LAGOS. MILITARY OPTIONS ARE NOT INCLUDED IN GENERAL REVIEW BUT ARE DISCUSSED IN CONCLUDING PARAGRAPH.

2. CEASEFIRE AND/OR RESUMED NEGOTIATIONS. NEITHER FMG NOR REBEL REGIME IS NOW INTERESTED IN UNCONDITIONAL CEASEFIRE OR NEGOTIATIONS AS BOTH SIDES BELIEVE THEY WILL BE IN STRONGER POSITION IN NEXT THREE OR FOUR MONTHS. HMG HAS EXPENDED ALMOST LAST RESERVES ITS INFLUENCE ON NIGERIAN SITUATION BY RECENT ABORTIVE CEASEFIRE INITIATIVE. EMPEROR'S CURRENT EFFORT HAS

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LITTLE CHANCE OF SUCCESS.

AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, I HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO PUT TOGETHER ANY COMBINATION OF CARROTS AND STICKS THAT USG COULD OFFER TO FMG AND REBELS THAT WOULD CAUSE BOTH TO CHANGE THEIR POSITIONS AT THIS TIME. I ACCORDINGLY SEE LITTLE PROSPECT THAT INCREASED USG PRESSURE FOR CEASEFIRE OR NEGOTIATIONS WILL SAVE LIVES IN IMMEDIATE FUTURE.

3. ARMS EMBARGO. EMBASSIES LISBON, MOSCOW AND PRIS ARE IN BETTER POSITION TO JUDGE, BUT I SEE LITTLE EVIDENCE HERE THAT FRANCE, PORTUGAL AND USSR ARE INCLINED TO SURRENDER LEVERAGE THEY NOW HAVE ON NIGERIAN SITUATION BY AGREEING TO ARMS EMBARGO. IF USG WERE TO CALL FOR EMBARGO, MAJOR CONSEQUENCE WOULD PROBABLY BE TO FORCE FMG TO GIVE IN TO ITS DOMESTIC PRESSURE TO END ARMS SUPPLY TO FMG. THIS WOULD OF COURSE ENHANCE SOVIET POSITION VIS-A-VIS FMG AND MAKE NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR EVEN MORE OF SOVIET-FRENCH CONFRONTATION THAN IT ALREADY IS. THESE DEVELOPMENTS WOULD SAVE NO LIVES.

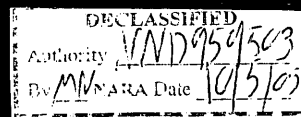
4. DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS. I STILL BELIEVE DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS UNDER ICRC UMBREALLA OFFER BEST HOPE OF SAVING MORE LIVES QUICKLY AND OF BEGINNING TO CREATE SITUATION IN WHICH EFFORTS TO BRING FMG AND REBELS TO CONFERENCE TABLE WOULD HAVE SOME CHANCE OF SUCCESS. I ACCORDINGLY URGE THAT USG CONTINUE TO PRESS ALL PARTIES CONCERNED TO AGREE TO EARLY START THESE FLIGHTS. AS CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS COMPRISING JCA ARE AMONG PARTIES TO BE PRESSED, I AM CONCERNED THAT IMPENDING USG DECISION TO PROVIDE C-97 AIRCRAFT FOR NIGHT FLIGHTS TO JCA ON BASIS QUALITY WITH ICRC WILL REDUCE LIKELIHOOD OF CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS' AGREEMENT. OJUKWU'S OFFER TO PERMIT RELIEF GROUPS TO BUILD NEW AIRSTRIP FOR DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS IS DELAYING TACTIC WHICH FMG WILL CERTAINLY REJECT ON GROUND RELIEF GROUPS BEING ASKED TO INCREASE REBELS' MILITARY POTENTIAL. OFFER DOES HOWEVER REFLECT OJUKWU'S RECOGNITION THAT OBSTRUCTING DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS DAMAGES REBEL CAUSE. AS WILL BE RECALLED FMG IS NOT DEMANDING TWENTY-FOUR HOUR NEUTRALIZATION OF ULT AIRSTRIP WHICH WOULD THEREFORE STILL BE AVAILABLE TO REBELS FOR NIGHT ARMS FLIGHTS. CONTINUED DELAY IN TAKING ADVANTAGE OF FMG AGREEMENT TO DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS UNDER ICRC UMBREALLA INCREASES RISK FMG WILL CHANGE ITS MIND.

5. LAND AND/OR WATER RELIEF CORRIDOR. I CONSIDER IT ONLY REMOTELY

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POSSIBLE THAT REBELS WILL ACCEPT ANY LAND OR WATER RELIEF CORRIDOR THAT FMG WILL ACCEPT UNLESS AND UNTIL MASS STARVATION BECOMES REALITY IN REBEL TERRITORY. USG SHOULD THEREFORE SEEK DURING NEXT FEW WEEKS TO MOBILIZE WORLD OPINION BEHIND CONCEPT OF ICRC DELIVERY RELIEF SUPPLIES THROUGH DESIGNATED CORRIDOR WITHOUT PRIOR AGREEMENT REBEL REGIME. IF THIS MOVE WIDELY SUPPORTED, THERE IS GOOD CHANCE REBELS WOULD NOT TURN BACK RELIEF CONVOYS.

6. SUPPORT OF BIAFRA. SOME OF THOSE IN US AND ELSEWHERE ADVOCATING GREATER HUMANITARIAN EFFORT HAVE AS THEIR OBJECTIVE NOT ONLY SAVING LIVES BUT ALSO SAVING BIAFRA AS INDEPENDENT NATION. I HAVE TRIED TO ASSESS OBJECTIVELY LIKELY CONSEQUENCES IF USG GAVE POLITICAL SUPPORT TO INDEPENDENCE FOR PREDOMINANTLY IBO AREAS OF BIAFRA. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT IBOS WOULD ACCEPT INDEPENDENCE LIMITED TO OWN AREAS, THAT NIGERIANS AND FMG WOULD DECIDE FURTHER EFFORT TO KEEP IBOS IN NIGERIA FRUITLESS, THAT FMG WOULD REMAIN IN EFFECTIVE CONTROL OF NON-IBO NIGERIA AND THAT WAR WOULD END AND MANY LIVES BE SAVED. MORE LIKELY DEVELOPMENTS IN MY VIEW WOULD BE ALONG FOLLOWING LINES:

A. IBOS BOLSTERED BY US SUPPORT WOULD INSIST ON CONTINUING WAR IN ATTEMPT TO REGAIN ALL OF FORMER EASTERN REGION.

B. FMG WOULD SEEK AND OBTAIN GREATLY INCREASED MILITARY SUPPLIES FROM USSR AND CONTINUE WAR.

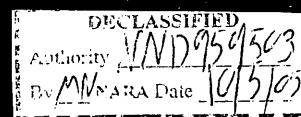
C. ALTERNATIVELY (AND LESS LIKELY) NIGERIAN REACTION TO NEW US POLICY WOULD LEAD TO COLLAPSE OF FMG AND BREAKUP OF NIGERIA AND ARMY ALONG TRIBAL LINES WITH ATTENDANT TRIBAL CLASHES AND MOVEMENT OF PEOPLES TO OWN TRIBAL AREAS. IN THESE CONTINGENCIES, RELIEF OPERATIONS WOULD BE EXCEEDINGLY DIFFICULT AND IT SEEMS INEVITABLE THAT MORE RATHER THAN FEWER LIVES WOULD BE LOST. IN POLITICAL TERMS, SOVEREIGN BIAFRA WOULD EXIST AND US RELATIONS WITH NEW NATION SHOULD BE GOOD. IN NIGERIA WHETHER ONE COUNTRY OR SEVERAL, HOWEVER, US WOULD FOR INDETERMINATE PERIOD BE REGARDED AS ENEMY WHO BETRAYED NON-IBOS. I THINK IT LIKELY THAT OUR ABRUPT CHANGE OF POLICY AND SUPPORT OF SECESSION WOULD ALSO HARM US POSITION IN MANY PARTS OF AFRICA.

7. OTHER CONSIDERATIONS.

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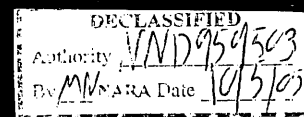
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A. IN WEIGHING ANY MORE ACTIVE AND DIRECT USG INVOLVEMENT IN NIGERIA SITUATION I KNOW WASHINGTON IS AS SENSITIVE AS LAGOS COUNTRY TEAM TO IMPLICATIONS FOR SAFETY SOME FIVE THOUSAND AMCITS IN NIGERIA. GROWTH OF DISTRUST AND SUSPICION OF WESTERN GOVERNMENTS AND INSTITUTIONS DURING PAST YEAR HAS CREATED ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH NIGERIAN FRUSTRATIONS COULD QUICKLY FOCUS ON EXPATRIATES.

C. WITH ALL RESPECT I BELIEVE USG IS PLACING TOO GREAT BURDEN ON
EMPEROR. WHILE FMG SHARES GENERAL AFRICAN RESPECT FOR HIM, IT
IS NOT GREATLY INFLUENCED BY HIS APPEALS, IN GOOD PART
BECAUSE MOST FMG OFFICIALS ARE FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT EMPEROR'S
INITIATIVES ARE INSPIRED BY USG AND HMG. FMG IS HOWEVER CONCERNED
TO KEEP IN GOOD GRACES OF OAU AS ORGANIZATION AND OF HEADS OF
STATE CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION AS FORMALLY DESIGNATED OAU BODY TO
DEAL WITH NIGERIAN SITUATION. DESPITE DIFFICULTIES OF MOBILIZING
THIS UNWIELDY BODY, COMMISSION WOULD HAVE MORE IMPACT ON FMG
THAN EMPEROR ACTING ALONE.

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The seal of the United States Department of State, featuring an eagle with a shield, holding an olive branch and arrows, with a constellation of stars above its head, surrounded by the text "DEPARTMENT OF STATE" and "UNITED STATES OF AMERICA".

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ONLY EXPRESS FERVENT HOPE ADMINISTRATION, PRESENT AND INCOMING,
WILL TAKE FIRM STAND AGAINST ANY US MILITARY INVOLVEMENT.
GP-3. SIGNED. MATHEWS UNQUOTE
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RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, SCS 04, SCA 01, SR 01, ORM 03,
SA 01, AID 28, IO 13, RSR 01, SAH 02, /152 W
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R 311618Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5815
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 8852

① 1. UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE EASTMAN IN CONVERSATION WITH ME DECEMBER 31 RAISED QUESTION OF NIGERIAN PEACE EFFORTS EMPHASIZING VIEW THAT WEST AFRICA AND IN PARTICULAR MONROVIA WOULD BE MOST SUITABLE VENUE FOR USEFUL MEETING BETWEEN FMG AND BIAFRANS. BOTH GOWON AND OJUKWU HAD SO ASSERTED DURING JULY MEETINGS IN NIAMEY. EASTMAN MENTIONED SHORT TRAVEL TIME LAGOS TO MONROVIA AND FACT LIBERIA WAS ENGLISH-SPEAKING NATION IN WHICH PARTIES WOULD FEEL AT HOME.

2. EASTMAN OBSERVED IT OBVIOUSLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR PRESIDENT TUBMAN TO TAKE INITIATIVE WITHOUT GO-AHEAD FROM HAILE SELASSIE, TO WHOM AS CHAIRMAN OF CONCILIATION COMMISSION OTHERS MUST DEFER. EASTMAN IMPLIED EMPEROR PROBABLY AWARE THAT PARTIES CONSIDERED WEST AFRICA PROPER VENUE BUT HAD NOT DECIDED TO STEP ASIDE.

3. REACTION OF PARTIES TO TUBMAN'S COUNSELS IN NIAMEY

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HAD ENCOURAGED HOPE THEY MIGHT GET TOGETHER IN ADDIS ABABA OR ELSEWHERE, BUT NOTHING HAD HAPPENED AND TIME WAS SLIPPING BY. EASTMAN UNDERSTOOD ANKRAH HAD HOPED THAT SOME PROGRESS WOULD BE MADE BEFORE COMMONWEALTH MEETING IN LONDON SO THAT THIS QUESTION WOULD NOT BE ON AGENDA FOR DISCUSSION THERE.

4. EASTMAN HOPED USG MIGHT ENCOURAGE EMPEROR TOWAVE GREEN LIGHT TO LIBERIA. ANY SUCH REPRESENTATIONS WOULD, IN EASTMAN'S VIEW, HAVE TO BE BROUGHT DIRECTLY TO THE EMPEROR'S ATTENTION TO BE EFFECTIVE.

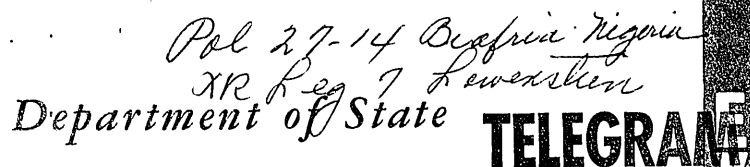
5. I TOLD EASTMAN I WOULD PASS HIS SUGGESTION AND REQUEST TO WASHINGTON.

6. SUBSEQUENTLY ENCOUNTERED LIBERIAN AMBASSADOR COX, WHO HOME FROM ADDIS FOR JUBILEE. ALTHOUGH HE THOUGHT OTHER MEMBERS OF CONCOM MIGHT SWAY EMPEROR, COX ALSO THOUGHT US APPROACH WOULD BE USEFUL. BROWN

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INFO: SSO 00, CCO: 00, /030 W

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P 291049Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7982

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ADDIS ABABA 7142/1

EXDIS.

DELIVER SUNDAY A.M. *Pat 27-14 Regd*
REF: A. ADDIS 5279; B. ADDIS 7136; C. LAGOS 15667

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PEACE TALKS-LOWENSTEIN-HIM TALKS

1. REPR. LOWENSTEIN AND COUNT VON ROSEN SAW HIM, MINPUO AND MINFONAFF FOR HOUR AND HALF SATURDAY AFTERNOON AT DIRE DAWA PALACE. LOWENSTEIN, IN REPORTING CONVERSATION, SAID IT WENT WELL UNTIL VON ROSEN JOINED AFTER FIRST HALF HOUR AND CONTINUED INSIST HIM SUPPORT BIAFRAN INDEPENDENCE EFFORT. (HIM'S TOLERANCE OF VON ROSEN AS ORGANIZER IEG AIR FORCE PERMITTED LATTER TO DOMINATE SECOND HALF CONVERSATION WITH NON-STARTER SUGGESTIONS.)

2. SIMILAR COMMENT FROM FONMIN KETEMA WHEN I SAW HIM AT AIRPORT IN MEETING LOWENSTEIN UPON RETURN FROM DIRE DAWA. KETEMA THOUGHT CONVERSATION USEFUL AND SAID SUGGESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED WHEN HIM RETURNS FROM GODI MONDAY. HE ASKED ME CALL MONDAY A.M. FOR HIS RUNDOWN ON CONVERSATION AND IEG CONCLUSIONS.

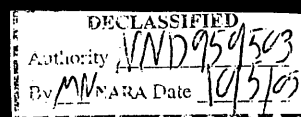
3. HIM ENCOURAGED LOWENSTEIN GIVE USG FULL REPORT PROPOSALS DISCUSSED WITH OJUKWU AND EMPEROR WHICH HE SAID RELEASED HIM FROM RESTRAINT HE HAD FELT OUR PREVIOUS CONVERSATION. HE WILL WELCOME OPPORTUNITY FOR FULL DEBRIEFING IN DEPT AND WILL PROVIDE GREATER DETAIL ON IMPRESSIONS AND PROPOSALS.

4. LOWENSTEIN SAID HE DISCUSSED POLITICAL SETTLEMENT ONLY BRIEFLY AS IT HIS IMPRESSION AFTER OUR EARLIER TALK AND PRELIMINARY

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DISCUSSION WITH HIM AND MINISTERS THAT TERMS OAU RESOLUTION DID NOT PERMIT HIM TO CONSIDER ANY SETTLEMENT WHICH OJUKWU WOULD FIND POSSIBLE AS EVEN STARTING POINT NEGOTIATIONS. HOWEVER, OJUKWU HAD AUTHORIZED HIM TO SUGGEST TO HIM THAT OJUKWU, SUBJECT TO RATIFICATION BY HIS CABINET, WOULD BE PREPARED ACCEPT EXTENSION OF TRUCE TO A DATE CERTAIN TO PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY TO SEE IF THERE WAS BASIS FOR RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT WITHOUT FURTHER RECOURSE TO ARMS. LOWENSTEIN NOTED THAT THIS WAS A CONSIDERABLE CHANGE EARLIER BIAFRAN POSITION AS IT ACCEPTED FOR PRESENT LIMITS OF BIAFRAN-HELD TERRITORY AND DROPPED DEMAND

WITHDRAWAL FROM REST EASTERN REGION. LOWE

STEIN SAID HE THOUGHT

OJUKWU HAD MORE REALISTIC VIEW HIS ACTUAL MIL POSITION AS RESULT THEIR TALKS OVER TWO DAYS AND THIS RETREAT FROM WITHDRAWAL DEMAND ONE RESULT.

5. LOWENSTEIN SAID HE DOUBTED OJUKWU WOULD BE WILLING DEAL WITH HIM ON POLITICAL SETTLEMENT BUT THAT IF SOME PERSON UNCOMMITTED TO EITHER SIDE COULD BE FOUND WHO COULD TRAVEL BETWEEN BIAFRAN AND NIGERIA SEEKING MAXIMIZE PEACE SENTIMENT HE FOUND IN BOTH GOVERNMENTS, HE THOUGHT THERE WAS GOOD CHANCE SETTLEMENT MIGHT BE REACHED. INDIVIDUAL SHOULD PREFERABLY BE AFRICAN BUT WHITE OR ASIAN WITH GOOD CREDENTIALS ON COLONIAL ISSUES MIGHT DO EQUALLY WELL. HIM HAD AGREED FIRST EFFORT SHOULD BE ON RELIEF CORRIDORS. KETEMA CONFIRMED THIS TO ME AND SAID HE SAW LITTLE IN POLITICAL SUGGESTIONS BROUGHT BY VON ROSEN AND LOWENSTEIN FOR HIM TO PURSUE WITH TWO PARTIES. POSSIBLY RELIEF AGREEMENT COULD BUILD SUFFICIENT CONFIDENCE TO PROVIDE BASIC LATER POLITICAL TALKS.

6. ON RELIEF, AGAIN WITH CAVEAT CABINET APPROVAL REQUIRED, (LOWENSTEIN AGREES THIS RESERVATION OFFERS BIAFRANS ESCAPE BATCH IF NIGERIANS ACCEPT TOO READILY AND BIAFRAN SUSPICIONS THUS AROUSED, BUT HE ALSO BELIEVES OJUKWU NOT FREE AGENT SUCH MATTERS AND MAJORITY GOVT PROBABLY MORE HAWKISH THAN OJUKWU), OJUKWU AUTHORIZED LOWENSTEIN TO INFOGM HIM BIAFRA PREPARED ACCEPT FOL:

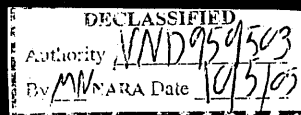
A. DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS TO AIRPORT BUILT BY RELIEF AGENCIES (OBILAGO) NOW IN NIGERIAN-HELD TERRITORY WITH FMG INSPECTION OF CARGOES AS UNLOADED PLANES AND PLACED ON ICRC TRUCKS FOR

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TRANSPORT FIVE MILES TO NO-MAN'S LAND BETWEEN TROOPS. TRANSFER POINT WOULD BE MANNED INTERNATIONALLY. BIAFRANFL WOULD INSPECT TRUCK CARGOES IN OWN TERRITORY FOR POISONS, EXPLOSIVES, SPIES, ETC. (OJUKWU WISHES DISTRIBUTE GOODS IN BIAFRA BUT LOWENSTEIN CERTAIN THIS BEYOND GOVTS CAPACITY AND RED CROSS WOULD END UP WITH TASK). NATURE OF ROAD TO BIAFRA SUCH THAT IT DOES NOT CONSTITUTE MIL THREAT AND HAS NOT BEEN MINED, BARRICADED, AND COULD BE USED AT ONCE. BIAFRANS CONSIDER OTHER PROPOSED LAND ROUTES OFFER POSSIBILITY CRASH TANK ATTACK BEHIND RELIEF VEHICLES ONCE BARRICADES AND MINES REMOVED. THUS OTHER MAIN ROAD ROUTES UNACCEPTABLE.

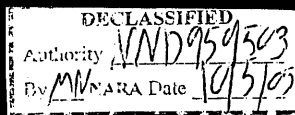
B. RIVER CROSSING TRANSFER OF SUPPLIES AT OGUTA ON SAME TERMS PROPOSED EARLIER BY HIM (REF A). OJUKWU NOTED THIS ROUTE PREVIOUSLY ACCEPTED THEN REJECTED BY BIAFRA WHEN PROPOSED EARLIER BY HIM. HE ADMITTED THIS ERROR BASED ON SUSPICION OF NIGERIAN ACCEPTANCE BUT ASSURED LOWENSTEIN HE NOW PREPARED ACCEPT. HALL

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ACTION SS 30

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INFO SSD: 00,CCD: 00,/030 W

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P 291049Z DEC 68
FM ANEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7983

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 ADDIS ABABA 7142/2

EXDIS.

REF: A. ADDIS 5279; B. ADDIS 7136; C. LAGOS 15667

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PEACE TALKS-LOWENSTEIN-HIM TALKS (CONT.)

7. BOTH ABOVE PROPOSALS SUGGESTED TO HIM AS SOLUTIONS HE MIGHT PROPOSE REPORTEDLY HIM PREPARED PUT SUGGESTIONS FORWARD BOTH SIDES. LOWENSTEIN AGRES PRINCIPAL DANGER IS PREMATURE LEAK OF PROPOSALS OF ACCEPTANCE BY ONE SIDE OR OTHER BEFORE TWO SIDES CAN AGREE. THUS NEGOTIATING TECHNIQUE AND SECURITY IMPORTANT. HE DISCUSSED WITH OJUKWU POSSIBILITY COMING ADDIS, OR OTHER POINT OUTSIDE BIAFRAN TERRITORY FOR MEETING WITH HIM. OJUKWU SAID IF HE LEFT NIGERIANS WOULD LAUNCH SURPRISE ATTACK AND RESISTANCE WOULD BE GREATLY WEAKENED. HE ALSO HINTED HE MIGHT LOSE CONTROL GOVT. LOWENSTEIN BELIEVES BOTH FACTORS OVERSTATED AND THAT MEETING COULD BE ARRANGED ABIDJAN, LIBREVILLE OR NIAMEY. HE URGED THIS ON OJUKWU BECAUSE OF HIS ISOLATION FACTS BIAFRAN INTERNATIONAL POSITION. LOWENSTEIN ALSO NOTED DIFFICULTY ANY SENIOR AFRICAN REACHING BIAFRA WITHOUT FMG APPROVAL BUT BELIEVED VISIT MIGHT BE ARRANGED AND THOUGHT IT WOULD BE USEFUL. HE CLEAR NEGOTIATION PROCESS DIFFICULT ARRANGE BUT HOPEFUL HIM WILL MOVE PROMPTLY.

8. REPR LOWENSTEIN ALSO MADE NUMBER INTERESTING OBSERVATIONS ON PATTERN LIFE IN BIAFRA AND COMMENTS KEY PERSONALITIES WHICH HE PREFERS COMMUNICATE DIRECTLY DEPT OFFICERS. HE ASKS ABOVE INFO BE HANDLED ON INFO BASIS AND RESTRICTED IN DISTRIBUTION.

9. COMMENT: MY IMPRESSION IS, WITH EXCEPTION COMPLICATIONS

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44.
ACTION: SS: 30

INFO: CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, /030 W

129184

O 281315Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7979

C D N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 7136

EXDIS:

NOFORN:

REF: ADDIS 7131

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PEACE TALKS

1. REPR. LDWENSTEIN ACCOMPANIED BY MIN, PALM AND FOR. MIN. LEFT BY SPECIAL DC-3 FOR DIRA DAWA AT 2130 PM FOR AUDIENCE HIM. APPOINTMENT ARRANGED THROUGH GOOD OFFICES COUNT VON ROSEN WAR TIME FLYER FOR HIM WHO NOW ENGAGED BIAFRIAN CIR- LIFT. COUNT VON ROSEN AND ADMINISTRATIVE AIDE TO CONGRESSMAN ALSO ON PLANE. LDWENSTEIN RETURNING WITH MINISTERS ADDIS P.M. AND HAS PROMISED DEBRIEFING.

2. DURING BRIEF LUNCHEON CONVERSATION I LEARNED LDWENSTEIN ARRIVED ADDIS FRI. PM ON D.C.-7. ONE OF RELIEF GROUPS PLANES FLYING BIAFRIA FROM SAO TOME. HE REGRETTED HE UNABLE RETURN LAGDS FOR PROMISED DISCUSSION FMG BECAUSE OF STOPPAGE FLIGHTS FROM FERNANDO PO AS RESULT FMG REQUEST THAT FLIGHTS BE INTERDICTED BY GOVT. AS RESULT HE AND NUMBER OTHERS PREPARING TAKE FLIGHTS ARRESTED AIRPORT AND HE TRAVELLED TO BIAFRIA VIA SAO TOME ONLY AFTER SPECIAL CHARTER FERNANDO PO TO SAO TOME. HE WILL TALK TO NIGERIAN HIGH COMMISSIONER LONDON DEC. 29 DR 30. LDWENSTEIN PROCEEDING LONDON DEC. 29 VIA EAL CAIRO AND BOAC LONDON. ARRIVING 5PM. HE HAD ASKED CONSULATE FERNANDO PO ADVISE US HIS ARRIVAL ADDIS, BUT ASSUMED COMMUNICATION DIFFICULTY AND NOT UNDULY DISTURBED WE HAD NOT MET HIM.

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*Chaka Chaka 7132
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ACTION: SS 70

INFO CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, DODE 00, CIAE 00, USIE 00, /070 W
128794

R 281000Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
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INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA PRIORITY
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
USMISSION USUN
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 7132

LIMDIS

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PEACE INITIATIVES

REF: ADDIS 7128. (NOTAL)

1. GHANA AMB AMONOO TOLD ME LAST NIGHT HE HAD URGED LIBERIAN AMB COX TO SUGGEST PRES. TUBMAN THAT HE ASK HIM RECONVENE OAU SUB COMMITTEE IN WEST AFRICA, POSSIBLY NIAMEY OR ABIDJAN TO MAKE NEW APPROACH BOTH SIDES. AMONOO RECOMMENDING SIMILAR ACTION BY GEN. ANKRAH. WHEN I NOTED HIM'S SCHEDULE NEXT FEW WEEKS MIGHT MAKE PROLONGED ABSENCE DIFFICULT, HE SAID PRIMIN AKLILU MIGHT ATTEND. AMONOO SAID NIGERIANS HAVE ACTIVE INTEREST IN NEW MEETING OAU COMMITTEE TO FORESTALL ACTION IN COMMONWEALTH MEETING. HE HAS ALSO SUGGESTED GENERAL AMNESTY MIGHT PRODUCE BIAFRAN DEFECTIONS.

2. WHEN NIGERIAN AMB SANU CALLED ON ME LATE YESTERDAY AFTER-NOON HE SAID HIM APPEAL REJECTED BY FMG IN PART BECAUSE OF LACK OF SPADE WORK BY IEG AND BECAUSE FMG NOT SATISFIED CEASE FIRE ENFORCEABLE PARTICULARLY WITH RESPECT ARMS SHIPMENTS TO BIAFRA. HE SAID HE HAD URGED IEG STOP WRITING LETTERS AND SEND PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE HIM TO LAGOS TO TALK FMG AND TO SOME NEUTRAL POINT SUCH AS ABIDJAN TO TALK TO BIAFRANS BUT

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THIS IDEA NOT PICKED UP AS YET BY ETHIOPIANS. HE DESPAIRED OF RECONVENING CONS. COMM. BECAUSE OF CONFLICTING COMMITMENTS MEMBERS BUT SAID SUCH SESSION WOULD BE USEFUL IN AVOIDING COMMONWEALTH CONFERENCE DISCUSSION AND ACTION. HOWEVER IF NIGERIAN QUESTION RAISED BY COMMONWEALTH MEMBER IN CONNECTION WORLD REVIEW ITEM. FMG WOULD NOT OBJECT TO DISCUSSION BUT WOULD WISH CONTROL ANY PROPOSALS FOR COMMONWEALTH INITIATIVE. IN RESPONSE MY QUESTION WHETHER ANY DISCUSSION FOLLOWED HIS DELIVERY NOTE TO HIM HE DID NOT RAISE ANY QUESTIONS AS ATMOSPHERE OF SESSION GLOOMY AND HOSTILE SO FAR AS FONMIN KETEMA AND MINPALACE CONCERNED. HIM AFTER READING REPLY HAD SAID HE WAS DISAPPOINTED BUT NOT DISCOURAGED AND THAT FMG SHOULD KNOW HIM WOULD CONTINUE SEEK SETTLEMENT EVEN IT TOOK TWO YEARS. SANU SAID HE HAS NO KNOWLEDGE ANY FURTHER IEG ACTION AND SAID NO FURTHER APPEAL TO GOWON PRESENTED TO HIM, BUT IEG MIGHT BE ACTING THROUGH OWN CHANNEL.

3. AMB SANU QUERIED ME ABOUT RUMORED CHANGE IN U.S. POLICY AS PART OF CHANGE OF ADMINISTRATION. HE SAID THIS RUMOR BEING SPREAD BY BIAFRANS AND WIDELY BELIEVED IN LAGOS. FOL DEPT'S GUIDANCE I ASSURED HIM NO CHANGE IN U.S. POLICY BUT THAT THERE WIDESPREAD INTEREST IN U.S. IN HUMANITARIAN EFFORT PREVENT STARVATION MASS DEATH ON BOTH SIDES NIGERIA AND ALSO GREAT INTEREST IN HIM CEASE FIRE PROPOSAL AS FIRST STEP TOWARD SETTLEMENT OF CIVIL WAR. HE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THIS FROM HIS RECENT PERIOD AT U.N. AND FROM TALKING NUMBER OF AMERICAN GROUPS.

4. HE TOLD ME BIAFRANS HAVE MILITARY ADVANTAGE OF SMALLER PERIMETER, HOMOGENEOUS POPULATION, AND EXCELLENT PUBLIC RELATIONS. FMG PRESENTLY EXPERIENCING LOW MORALE POINT WITH SUBSTANTIAL WAR WEARINESS. HE EXPECTS THIS TO PASS SOON AND NOTED WITH PRIDE EXTENT TO WHICH NIGERIA HAD BEEN ABLE MOBILIZE RESOURCES FOR PROSECUTION WAR, FAR BEYOND ANY PROJECTIONS MADE BY ECONOMISTS IN EARLY DAYS OF STRUGGLE. HE EXPECTS NO BREAKTHROUGH AT PRESENT ON CEASE FIRE OR PERMANENT SETTLEMENT. HALL

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
RLEG 7 LOWENSTEIN
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 ADDIS 07131 281042Z

21
ACTION SS 70

INFO CIAE 00,SSO 00,CCO 00,NSCE 00,USIE 00, /070 W
..... 128590

O 281010Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7977
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 7131

LIMDIS

REF: ADDIS 7130, DEC 28, 1968; ADDIS 7129, DEC 28, 1968

1. I PHONED FONMIN KETEMA ABOUT OJUKWU RUMOR. HE SAYS TO HIS KNOWLEDGE THERE IS NOTHING TO IT.

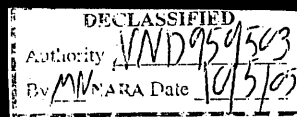
2. I ALSO MENTIONED VISIT ADDIS REP. LOWENSTEIN. KETEMA SAID HE HAD JUST LEARNED OF LOWENSTEIN'S PRESENCE IN ADDIS AND HIS REQUEST TO MINPAL TEFERRA WORK FOR AUDIENCE WITH HIM TO DISCUSS NIGERIA. HE SAID TEFERRA WORK HAD IMPRESSION LOWENSTEIN ACTING AS OJUKWU REPRESENTATIVE AND THAT HIM THEREFORE SHOULD SEE HIM. I TOLD KETEMA I HAD NOT SEEN REPRESENTATIVE LOWENSTEIN ALTHOUGH I HOPED TO DO SO LATER IN DAY, BUT THAT I DOUBTFUL HE ACTING AS BIAFRAN REPRESENTATIVE. HOWEVER, I WAS AWARE HIS INTEREST HUMANITARIAN ASPECTS OF NIGERIA AND THOUGHT HE WOULD APPRECIATE AUDIENCE HIM. KETEMA SAID BECAUSE OF KOLUBI CEREMONIES (ST. GABRIEL'S DAY) THIS WEEKEND IT UNLIKELY HIM COULD SEE HIM BEFORE MONDAY. FONMIN SAID HE WOULD OFFER SEE CONGRESSMAN IF HE UNABLE WAIT FOR AUDIENCE HIM.

3. I HAVE INVITED CONGRESSMAN FOR LUNCH. HE HAS CANCELLED PLANNED VISIT TO LAGOS. HALL

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12
ACTION SS 70

INFO CIAE 00,SSO 00,CCO 00,NSCE 00,USIE 00,/070 W
..... 128386

O 280859Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7976
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 7130

LIMDIS

FAIRLY RELIABLE PRESS RUMOR THIS A.M. OJUKWU ARRIVING
TODAY FOR TALKS WITH HIM. EMBASSY-USIA COVERING AIRPORT. HALL

*Addis Ababa 7130
12-28-68*

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Geographic

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ACTION SS: 70

INFO CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, DODE 00, CIAE 00, USIE 00, 1070 W
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P. R. 271530Z DEC 68
 FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
 TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7974
 INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
 USMISSION GENEVA
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 USMISSION USUN
 AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 7128

LIMDIS

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PEACE INITIATIVES

1. LIBERIAN AMB COX INFORMED ME THIS MORNING HE IS RETURNING MONROVIA DEC 28 FOR CONSULTATIONS ON NIGERIA WITH SECY GRIMES AND PRESIDENT TUBMAN.

2. COX SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THERE HAD BEEN EXCHANGE BETWEEN TUBMAN AND HOUPHOUET-BEIGNY ON NIGERIA. HE SPECULATED ON PERSONAL BASIS THAT TRILATERAL MEETING WITH HIM MIGHT BE USEFUL. HE THOUGHT PERHAPS THREE OF THEM MIGHT FIND WAY TO BRING PARTIES TO NIGERIAN CONFLICT TOGETHER FOR TALKS. ALSO ABIDJAN NEUTRAL GROUND FOR BIAFRANS.

3. COX SAID HE PERSONALLY WAS BECOMING INCREASINGLY CONCERNED THAT NIGERIAN PROBLEM UNDER PRESENT CIRCUMSTANCES MIGHT CONTINUE MORE OR LESS INDEFINITELY WITH TRAGIC IMPLICATIONS FOR PEOPLES OF NIGERIA. NEITHER SIDE APPEARED CAPABLE OF MIL SOLUTION FORESEEABLE FUTURE, AND MOVEMENT TOWARD MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS NOT FEASIBLE. SOVIETS SEEMED ONLY PRESENT BENEFICIARIES.

4. COX SAID HE HAD NO INFO RE SUBSTANCE OF TALK

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DEC 26 BETWEEN HIM AND AMBASSADORS OF IVORY COAST, TANZANIA AND ZAMBIA, WHICH WAS REPORTED BRIEFLY THIS MORNING'S ETHIOPIAN HERALD (ENGLISH LANGUAGE). PAPER REPORTED THREE AMBASSADORS DELIVERED MESSAGE FROM RESPECTIVE HEADS OF STATE SUPPORTING HIM'S PEACE EFFORTS IN NIGERIA. COX SPECULATED HIM MAY HAVE BEEN ASKING THEIR VIEWS ABOUT BEST WAY ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH OJUKWU. HE ALSO SAID HE HAD TALKED TO NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR ABOUT DELIVERY OF GOWON NOTE AND LATTER HAD SAID HE HAD NO SUBSTANTIVE EXCHANGE WITH HIM. HALL

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ACTION SS 30

INFO /030 W

124452

P 271130Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4165

SECRET LAGOS 15624 SECTION 1 OF 2

EXDIS:

SUBJ: NIGERIA: US OPTIONS:

1. AS ADMINISTRATION, PRESENT AND INCOMING, UNDER INCREASING DOMESTIC PRESSURE TO ASSUME MORE ACTIVE AND MORE DIRECT USG ROLE IN NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR IN ORDER TO SAVE LIVES, I OFFER FOLLOWING COMMENTS ON OPTIONS OPEN TO USG AND THEIR LIKELY CONSEQUENCES AS SEEN FROM LAGOS. MILITARY OPTIONS ARE NOT INCLUDED IN GENERAL REVIEW BUT ARE DISCUSSED IN CONCLUDING PARAGRAPH.

2. CEASEFIRE AND/OR RESUMED NEGOTIATIONS. NEITHER FMG NOR REBEL REGIME IS NOW INTERESTED IN UNCONDITIONAL CEASEFIRE OR NEGOTIATIONS AS BOTH SIDES BELIEVE THEY WILL BE IN STRONGER POSITION IN NEXT THREE OR FOUR MONTHS. HMG HAS EXPENDED ALMOST LAST RESERVES ITS INFLUENCE ON NIGERIAN SITUATION BY RECENT ABORTIVE CEASEFIRE INITIATIVE. EMPEROR'S CURRENT EFFORT HAS LITTLE CHANCE OF SUCCESS.

AGAINST THIS BACKGROUND, I HAVE BEEN UNABLE TO PUT TOGETHER ANY COMBINATION OF CARROTS AND STICKS THAT USG COULD OFFER TO FMG AND REBELS THAT WOULD CAUSE BOTH TO CHANGE THEIR POSITIONS AT THIS TIME. I ACCORDINGLY SEE LITTLE PROSPECT THAT INCREASED USG PRESSURE FOR CEASEFIRE OR NEGOTIATIONS WILL SAVE LIVES IN IMMEDIATE FUTURE.

3. ARMS EMBARGO. EMBASSIES LISBON, MOSCOW AND PRIS ARE IN BETTER POSITION TO JUDGE, BUT I SEE LITTLE EVIDENCE HERE THAT FRANCE, PORTUGAL AND USSR ARE INCLINED TO SURRENDER LEVERAGE THEY NOW HAVE ON NIGERIAN SITUATION BY AGREEING TO ARMS EMBARGO. IF USG WERE TO CALL FOR EMBARGO, MAJOR CONSEQUENCE WOULD PROBABLY BE TO

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FORCE FMG TO GIVE IN TO ITS DOMESTIC PRESSURE TO END ARMS SUPPLY TO FMG. THIS WOULD OF COURSE ENHANCE SOVIET POSITION VIS-A-VIS FMG AND MAKE NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR EVEN MORE OF SOVIET-FRENCH CONFRONTATION THAN IT ALREADY IS. THESE DEVELOPMENTS WOULD SAVE NO LIVES.

4. DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS. I STILL BELIEVE DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS UNDER ICRC UMBRELLA OFFER BEST HOPE OF SAVING MORE LIVES QUICKLY AND OF BEGINNING TO CREATE SITUATION IN WHICH EFFORTS TO BRING FMG AND REBELS TO CONFERENCE TABLE WOULD HAVE SOME CHANCE OF SUCCESS. I ACCORDINGLY URGE THAT USG CONTINUE TO PRESS ALL PARTIES CONCERNED TO AGREE TO EARLY START THESE FLIGHTS. AS CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS COMPRISING JCA ARE AMONG PARTIES TO BE PRESSED, I AM CONCERNED THAT IMPENDING USG DECISION TO PROVIDE C-97 AIRCRAFT FOR NIGHT FLIGHTS TO JCA ON BASIS QUALITY WITH ICRC WILL REDUCE LIKELIHOOD OF CHURCH ORGANIZATIONS' AGREEMENT. OJUKWU'S OFFER TO PERMIT RELIEF GROUPS TO BUILD NEW AIRSTRIP FOR DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS IS DELAYING TACTIC WHICH FMG WILL CERTAINLY REJECT ON GROUND RELIEF GROUPS BEING ASKED TO INCREASE REBELS' MILITARY POTENTIAL. OFFER DOES HOWEVER REFLECT OJUKWU'S RECOGNITION THAT OBSTRUCTING DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS DAMAGES REBEL CAUSE. AS WILL BE RECALLED FMG IS NOT DEMANDING TWENTY-FOUR HOUR NEUTRALIZATION OF ULI AIRSTRIP WHICH WOULD THEREFORE STILL BE AVAILABLE TO REBELS FOR NIGHT ARMS FLIGHTS. CONTINUED DELAY IN TAKING ADVANTAGE OF FMG AGREEMENT TO DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS UNDER ICRC UMBRELLA INCREASES RISK FMG WILL CHANGE ITS MIND.

5. LAND AND/OR WATER RELIEF CORRIDOR. I CONSIDER IT ONLY REMOTELY POSSIBLE THAT REBELS WILL ACCEPT ANY LAND OR WATER RELIEF CORRIDOR THAT FMG WILL ACCEPT UNLESS AND UNTIL MASS STARVATION BECOMES REALITY IN REBEL TERRITORY. USG SHOULD THEREFORE SEEK DURING NEXT FEW WEEKS TO MOBILIZE WORLD OPINION BEHIND CONCEPT OF ICRC DELIVERY RELIEF SUPPLIES THROUGH DESIGNATED CORRIDOR WITHOUT PRIOR AGREEMENT REBEL REGIME. IF THIS MOVE WIDELY SUPPORTED, THERE IS GOOD CHANCE REBELS WOULD NOT TURN BACK RELIEF CONVOYS.

6. SUPPORT OF BIAFRA. SOME OF THOSE IN US AND ELSEWHERE ADVOCATING GREATER HUMANITARIAN EFFORT HAVE AS THEIR OBJECTIVE NOT ONLY SAVING LIVES BUT ALSO SAVING BIAFRA AS INDEPENDENT NATION. I HAVE TRIED TO ASSESS OBJECTIVELY LIKELY CONSEQUENCES IF USG GAVE POLITICAL SUPPORT TO INDEPENDENCE FOR PREDOMINANTLY IBO

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AREAS OF BIAFRA. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT IBOS WOULD ACCEPT INDEPENDENCE LIMITED TO OWN AREAS, THAT NIGERIANS AND FMG WOULD DECIDE FURTHER EFFORT TO KEEP IBOS IN NIGERIA FRUITLESS, THAT FMG WOULD REMAIN IN EFFECTIVE CONTROL OF NON-IBO NIGERIA AND THAT WAR WOULD END AND MANY LIVES BE SAVED. MORE LIKELY DEVELOPMENTS IN MY VIEW WOULD BE ALONG FOLLOWING LINES:

A. IBOS BOLSTERED BY US SUPPORT WOULD INSIST ON CONTINUING WAR IN ATTEMPT TO REGAIN ALL OF FORMER EASTERN REGION.

GP-3

MATHEWS

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 15624 271359Z

C. WITH ALL RESPECT I BELIEVE USG IS PLACING TOO GREAT BURDEN ON EMPEROR. WHILE FMG SHARES GENERAL AFRICAN RESPECT FOR HIM, IT IS NOT GREATLY INFLUENCED BY HIS APPEALS, IN GOOD PART BECAUSE MOST FMG OFFICIALS ARE FIRMLY CONVINCED THAT EMPEROR'S INITIATIVES ARE INSPIRED BY USG AND HMG. FMG IS HOWEVER CONCERNED TO KEEP IN GOOD GRACES OF OAU AS ORGANIZATION AND OF HEADS OF STATE CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION AS FORMALLY DESIGNATED OAU BODY TO DEAL WITH NIGERIAN SITUATION. DESPITE DIFFICULTIES OF MOBILIZING THIS UNWIELDY BODY, COMMISSION WOULD HAVE MORE IMPACT ON FMG THAN EMPEROR ACTING ALONE.

8. MILITARY OPTIONS. IT HAS BEEN PROPOSED IN SOME QUARTERS THAT USG ALONE OR IN CONCERT WITH OTHER GOVERNMENTS SHOULD INTERVENE MILITARILY IN NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR AT LEAST TO ENSURE DELIVERY OF RELIEF SUPPLIES OR AT MOST TO SEPARATE WARRING FORCES AND BRING HOSTILITIES TO END. PRESUMABLY MOST OF THOSE SO PROPOSING ASSUME FMG AND REBEL FORCES WOULD NOT RESIST INTERVENING FORCE. I BELIEVE THERE WOULD BE SOME RESISTANCE EVEN TO FORCES ESCORTING RELIEF SUPPLIES AND INTERVENING GOVERNMENTS WOULD HAVE TO EXPECT CASUALTIES. IF OBJECT OF INTERVENTION WERE TO SEPARATE FMG AND REBELTROOPS, RESISTANCE WOULD BE GREATER ALTHOUGH OF LIMITED DURATION IF INTERVENING FORCE WERE ADEQUATE TO ITS TASK. THERE WOULD, HOWEVER, BE STRONG POSSIBILITY THAT SHOCK OF FOREIGN MILITARY INTERVENTION WOULD BRING ABOUT IN NIGERIA SITUATION DESCRIBED IN PARAGRAPH 6C PRECEDING. INTERVENING GOVERNMENTS WOULD THEN BE FACED WITH CHOICE BETWEEN WITHDRAWING AFTER CREATING WORSE SITUATION THAN EXISTED BEFORE THEIR INTERVENTION OR STAYING ON TO POLICE AND PACIFY LARGE AREAS OF NIGERIA. I CAN ONLY EXPRESS FERVENT HOPE ADMINISTRATION, PRESENT AND INCOMING, WILL TAKE FIRM STAND AGAINST ANY US MILITARY INVOLVEMENT.

GP#3

MATHEWS

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PAGE 01 BRUSSELS 11332 271712Z

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ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 02

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, SAH 02,

SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, /151 W

125408

R 271531Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7777
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

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SUBJ: NIGERIAN HOLIDAY CEASE FIRE

REF: STATE 291099 AND BRUSSELS 11273

1. DIRECTOR GENERAL OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE, VAN DER STRATEN-WAILLET, HAS INFORMED US THAT FOLLOWING MEETING WITH DCM, FOREIGN OFFICE ISSUED FOLLOWING PRESS COMMUNIQUE ON DECEMBER 23 FOR PUBLICATION BY BELGA NEWS AGENCY.

2. "THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT JOINS IN THE APPEAL WHICH THE EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA HAS JUST SENT TO THE OPPOSING SIDES IN NIGERIA CALLING FOR A SEVEN-DAY CEASE FIRE DURING THE CHRISTMAS AND ID AL-FITR HOLIDAYS. THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT WARMLY HOPES THAT THIS PERIOD MIGHT BE EXTENDED. THIS TRUCE WILL PERMIT THE BRINGING IN OF FOOD AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES SORELY NEEDED BY EVERYONE WHO HAS BEEN AFFECTED BY THIS WAR.

3. "THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT HAS MADE REPRESENTATIONS TO THE GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA IN SUPPORT OF THE PROPOSAL OF THE EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA. IT HAS REQUESTED THOSE STATES WHICH HAVE RECOGNIZED BIAFRA TO MAKE SIMILAR REPRESENTATIONS TO COLONEL OJUKWU."
EXEMPT. KNIGHT

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ACTION AF 16

INFO SAH 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, ABCE 00, AID 28, IO 13, RSR 01,

EUR 15, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, /149 W

119116

R 260955Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY BANGUI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1685

C O N F I D E N T I A L BANGUI 1878

SUBJ: NIGERIAN HOLIDAY CEASE-FIRE

REF: STATE 291099 ✓

*POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
X 119116 12-26-68*

1. EMBOFF DEC 24 DELIVERED TO CHEF DE CABINET,
FONOFF, NOTE TRANSMITTING TEXT PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT
ON NIGERIAN TRUCE AND REQUESTING GOCAR PUBLIC SUPPORT.

2. NO GOCAR PUBLIC REACTION TO TRUCE APPEALS AS OF
MORNING DEC 26.

GP-3 LEWIS

*Bangui 1878
12-26-68*

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Pol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria
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22
ACTION 50 72

INFO CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSAE 00, NSCE 00, SSO 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, ABCE 00,
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FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
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116743

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 7094

LIMDIS

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN TRUCE APPEAL

REF: STATE 292114

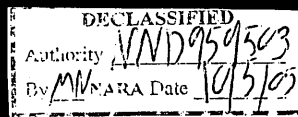
1. UNABLE ARRANGE CONVERSATION WITH HIM BUT HAVE EXPLORED SUGGESTIONS REFTEL WITH FONMIN KETEMA.
2. KETEMA SAID IEG DID NOT INFORM GOWON OF POSSIBLE TALK OJUKWU BUT EXPECTED DO SO ONCE TRUCE AGREED. HE RATHER ATTRACTED IDEA PARA 2A REFTEL, BUT THOUGHT IDEAS PARAS 2B AND 2C RAN RISK PUBLIC REJECTION ONE OR BOTH PARTIES WITH RESULTANT LOSS REMAINING INFLUENCE, PRESTIGE OAU CONCOM AND HIM.
3. UNFORTUNATELY HIM HAS NOT RECEIVED GOWON MESSAGE AND HAS ONLY HEARD SUMMARY OVER BBC. THEREFORE HIM NOT IN POSITION RESPOND. I HAVE GIVEN KETEMA TEXT FMG RELEASE AS SENT US BY LAGOS. IN RESPONSE QUERY ALSO EXPLAINED AMB MATHEWS FORESTALLED IN PRESENTING APPEAL TO GOWON.
4. ON BASIS BBC REPORT HIM HAS DRAFTED RENEWED APPEAL TO GOWON WHICH WILL BE SENT SOON. HIM HOPES OTHER COUNTRIES

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*12/25/68
Chabon 7094*

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 07094 251152Z

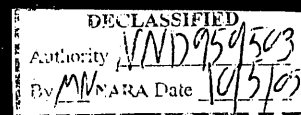
WILL KEEP PRESSURE ON FMG REVERSE ITS POSITION AND ACCEPT WEEK'S TRUCE. KETEMA ASKED IF WE COULD AGAIN URGE ACCEPTANCE TRUCE IN EITHER LAGOS OR WASHINGTON.

5. KETEMA WILL CONSIDER FURTHER WITH HIM AND PRIMIN WHETHER ADVICE TO GOWON OF POSSIBLE DISCUSSION WITH OJUKWU WOULD STRENGTHEN POSSIBILITY OF FMG ACCEPTANCE OF TRUCE. AT CONCLUSION OUR TALK KETEMA INCLINED THINK THIS STEP PREMATURE AND PREFERABLE CONCENTRATE ON TRUCE AND THEN MOVE TO NEXT STEP. THUS INCLINED BELIEVE HIM WILL SEND MESSAGE TO GOWON SIMPLY REITERATING APPEAL TO ACCEPT TRUCE AS FIRST STEP IN FINDING PERMANENT SOLUTION.

6. COMMENT: IEG VIEW GOWON NO LONGER MASTER OWN HOUSE. THUS UNDERSTANDABLY RELUCTANT PLACE HIM PRSSTIGE AND INFLUENCE ON BLOCK WITH FMG AND BIAFRAN REACTIONS BOTH HIGHLY PROBLEMATIC. I DID NOT SUGGEST POSSIBILITY WHICH HAS OCCURRED TO US THAT HIM MIGHT SEND PRIMIN OR FONMIN AS SPECIAL EMISSARY TWO PARTIES IF RENEWED APPEAL REJECTED BY FMG. THIS WOULD RUN LESS RISK PUBLIC REBUFF. ALSO, ASSUME YEAST OF PUBLIC PRESS REACTION TO FMG TRUCE REJECTION MAY SERVE SOFEN ATTITUDE TOWARD HIM'S RENEWED APPEAL. ALSO ASSUME RESULTS OUR AND BRITISH EFFORTS MOBILIZE DIPLOMATIC SUPPORT FOR APPEAL JUST BEGINNING TO PAY OFF IN LAGOS ACTION. FOR EXAMPLE GERMAN AMB TOLD ME LAST NIGHT HE HAD JUST RECEIVED COPY INSTRUCTION TO HIS COLLEAGUE LAGOS TO SUPPORT HIM APPEAL WITH FMG. HALL

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ACTION: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE
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Info:

INFO: US MISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
Amembassy LONDON PRIORITY
USUN NEW YORK PRIORITY
Amembassy PARIS PRIORITY

LIMDIS

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF -- CONVERSATION WITH EMEROR

REF: ADDIS 7065, 7066; LAGOS 15555

1. Following for your conversation with HIM December 24. You should reiterate our great satisfaction at HIM's truce appeal. We welcome what we interpret to be de facto Biafran acceptance and continue to hope for similar response from FMG.

2. Time is so clearly of essence if cease fire is to afford any opportunity for increased relief effort, we intend to ^{reiterate} ~~reiterate~~ to Lagos our support of HIM's appeal and urge FMG again to accept full cease fire period. We would hope HIM might also be willing renew his appeal to Gowon on basis reciprocity for de facto Biafran acceptance.

3. We would also welcome any suggestions or proposals HIM might have regarding means or specific channels to augment relief effort during cease fire period. If cease fire observed by both sides, we are exploring various possibilities -- for example land corridor south from Enugu, where substantial supplies already

Drafted by: AF/W:RPSmith/WH:RMorris:km

Tel. Ext. 2619

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by: AF/W - Robert P. Smith
Nigerian Task Force

Clearances:

AF - Amb. Moore (substance)

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8-65

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Page 2 of telegram to ADDIS ABABA/LAGOS

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stockpiled and transport available on short notice. We not wedded to this specific corridor but offer it only as example of possibilities.

4. HIM might also consider urging Ojukwu to accept both land corridor and daylight flight delivery during truce period, possibly with OAU supervision to give necessary assurances to Ojukwu.

5. You should express importance USG attaches to opening up land and/or water corridors and daylight flights to meet expected deteriorating food situation in Biafra area over longer term as well as in truce period. While we recognize HIM's frustrating experience last August on this issue, any suggestions HIM might be able to make as to how to bring two sides to agreement on these corridors would be greatly welcomed by us. In this connection you should offer purely as casual, personal suggestion that HIM might consider appealing for a conference under his sponsorship of interested powers strictly on humanitarian problem. ^{You} ~~XXXX~~ would have in mind both FMG and Biafra, UK, France, USSR, US, ICRC, possibly UN rep and other relief agencies. Theme would be to develop acceptable land corridor and more satisfactory arrangements on airlift, as well as mobilize resources to tackle enormous relief job.

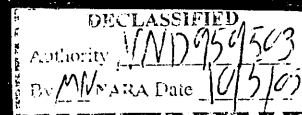
6. FOR LAGOS: Despite negative reaction of Enahoro reported Lagos reftel, you should arrange appointment with Gowon soonest and urge him to accept cease fire on reasoning outlined President's statement.

END

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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LIMDIS

Ref: Addis 7081

1. Appreciate your prompt reporting of your meeting with HIM this morning. His thought about seeking meeting with Ojukwu possibly in Biafra is a hopeful and welcome development. We recognize that FMG rejection of HIM's ceasefire proposal (reported in Lagos 15576) will be discouraging to HIM. Although we not clear whether HIM had informed Gowon of proposed meeting with Ojukwu as outlined to you this morning.
2. Several other variants to Emperor's plan occurs to us and we believe it would be useful to get them to him in his consideration of possible courses of action following Lagos rejection of ceasefire.

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a HIM might wish consider informing Gowon that Nigerian situation such that he feels he has no choice but to seek earliest meeting with Ojukwu in attempt to persuade him rejoin a united Nigeria with safeguards for Ibo people. Whether meeting held within Biafra or outside, HIM believes week's truce which he had proposed essential for establishing atmosphere in which meeting can take place. We believe Gowon would find it more

Drafted by:	AF:CRMoore:ehd	12/24/68	Tel. Ext.	5208	Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by:	AF -	Amb. Moore
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difficult to deny truce under these conditions.

b. As variant to a above, Emperor might consider flying to Fernando Po or possibly Niamey or some other easily accessible spot, informing Gowon and Ojukwu after departure from Addis that he would like to meet with them either separately or together. (Presence of large Ibo colony may make Fernando Po inappropriate).

c. In light Gowon's publicized rejection of ceasefire, some new element may be required to lead Gowon change position without losing face. It might be easier to obtain Gowon-Ojukwu meeting with Emperor were latter, on departure from Addis for Niamey, to request their presence to discuss development of practical arrangements for daylight flights and land and/or water corridors, possibly with OAU observers. This would be in line with recent FMG announcements regarding willingness agree to daylight flights as well as land corridors with civilian OAU observers. We would hope of course that during course these practical discussions broader peace possibility could also be probed.

3. We appreciate none of these alternatives assure a satisfactory outcome and that HIM's prestige at stake. At same time, Emperor's own evident willingness to take further initiatives to bring about settlement of Nigerian

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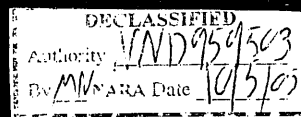
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question leads us to volunteer these thoughts. Moreover, whole history Nigerian problem replete with lesson that prior acceptance by one party automatically assures rejection by other. Appeal of course 2 b or 2 c, is that it puts both parties equally on spot and just might work. We would prefer if feasible for you to call on Emperor personally to discuss above thoughts but leave it to your discretion to get them to him by most appropriate and speedy means. It seems essential to get maximum benefit from present truce period, limited as it may seem.

End.

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ACTION SS 70

INFO CIAE 00,000 W

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P R 240940Z DEC 68
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C O N F I D E N T I A L: ADDIS ABABA 7081

LIMDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y

REF: STATE 291676

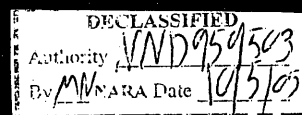
1. THE EMPEROR OPENED OUR CONVERSATION THIS MORNING BY ASKING ME TO CONVEY HIS PERSONAL APPRECIATION AND THANKS TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON FOR PROMPT AND EFFECTIVE SUPPORT OF HIM'S APPEAL FOR CEASE-FIRE IN NIGERIA. HE SAID THIS ACTION BY THE PRESIDENT WAS ANOTHER DEMONSTRATION OF HIS DEEP HUMANITARIAN INTEREST IN AFRICA'S PEOPLE. BOTH AS HEAD OF STATE AND PERSONALLY, HIM WAS DEEPLY GRATEFUL FOR THE PRESIDENT'S CONTINUING SUPPORT OF HIS EFFORTS TO SETTLE NIGERIAN QUESTION.

2. HIM THEN REVIEWED BRIEFLY HIS EFFORTS AS CHAIRMAN OF OAU CONSULATIVE COMMITTEE TO CONCILIATE BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES. ALTHOUGH SO FAR HE HAD ACHIEVED LITTLE HE INTENDED TO PERSEVERE IN THE SEARCH FOR PEACE. IN SUPPORT OF THIS EFFORT HE HOPED THE PRESIDENT WOULD ADDRESS AN APPEAL TO GENERAL GOWON TO ACCEPT A FULL WEEK'S TRUCE AS HAD BEEN APPARENTLY ACCEPTED BY COL OJUKWU. IF GENERAL GOWON AGREED TO A TRUCE, HIM WOULD THEN SEEK A MEETING WITH COL OJUKWU POSSIBLY IN BIAFRA AND ATTEMPT TO PERSUADE HIM TO REJOIN A UNITED NIGERIA WITH SPECIAL SECURITY GUARANTEES FOR IBO PEOPLE AND SPECIAL

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*Addis Ababa 7081
12/24/68*

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 07081 250654Z

STATUS FOR EASTERN NIGERIA. THE SECURITY OF THE IBO PEOPLE AND THEIR SPECIAL STATUS IN THE NIGERIAN UNION WOULD BE GUARANTEED BY THE OAU AND THE EMPEROR PERSONALLY AS THE CHAIRMAN OF THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE. A CESSATION OF FIGHTING FOR A WEEK WAS ESSENTIAL FOR THE EMPEROR TO MEET WITH OJUKWU AND LATER WITH GOWON. IF A TRUCE OF ONE WEEK COULD BE ARRANGED HE HOPED IT MIGHT BE EXTENDED AND BRING A PERMANENT CESSATION OF HOSTILITIES.

3. I PROMISED TO CONVEY HIS THANKS TO THE PRESIDENT. I WAS ABLE TO ASSURE HIM THAT AMB MATHEWS IN LAGOS HAD ALREADY BEEN INSTRUCTED TO SEE GENERAL GOWON TO URGE ACCEPTANCE OF HIM'S PROPOSAL. I SUGGESTED THAT HIM MIGHT ALSO WISH TO MAKE A FURTHER APPEAL TO GENERAL GOWON.

4. I THEN RAISED THE QUESTION OF THE LAND CORRIDOR AND DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS. I URGED HIM TO APPEAL TO COL OJUKWU TO ACCEPT A LAND CORRIDOR, POSSIBLY FROM ENUGU AND TO PERMIT DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS. I EXPLAINED THAT FOOD AND TRANSPORT WERE AVAILABLE AT ENUGU AND COULD ENTER BIAFRA DURING THE CEASE-FIRE PERIOD. HIM SAID HE WOULD RAISE BOTH MATTERS WITH OJUKWU IF HE WERE SUCCESSFUL IN ESTABLISHING DIRECT CONTACT. HE REALIZED THE TRAGEDY FACING THE NIGERIAN PEOPLE UNLESS SOMETHING WAS DONE ABOUT RELIEF ACCESS AND HE WOULD AGAIN PRESS BOTH PARTIES VERY STRONGLY.

5. I THOUGHT IT BEST NOT SUGGEST POSSIBLE CONFERENCE TO HIM AS IT SEEMED PREMATURE TO DO SO. I WAS CONCERNED IT MIGHT BE CONSIDERED BY HIM AS DIVERSION FROM HIS MAIN CURRENT OBJECTIVES OF THE CONVERSATION WITH OKUKWU AND THE ACCEPTANCE AND THEN EXTENSION OF THE CEASE-FIRE. HOWEVER, I SUGGESTED TO MINPALACE TAFFARA-WORQ FOL AUDIENCE THAT HIM MIGHT WISH TO CONSIDER SUCH A CONFERENCE IF HE WERE SUCCESSFUL IN ARRANGING AN EXTENSION OF THE CEASE-FIRE. I MADE CLEAR THIS WAS A PERSONAL SUGGESTION AND ONE WHICH AROSE OUT OF THE INCREASING DIFFICULTIES WHICH HAD BEEN REPORTED OF OBTAINING ADEQUATE FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR NIGERIAN RELIEF AS WELL AS APPROPRIATE STAFFING FOR RELIEF TEAM. I WILL FOLLOW UP ON SUGGESTION WHEN I NEXT SEE FONMIN KETEMA.
HALL

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By	MV NARA
Date	10/5/05

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Summary
Task Force

Principals

ES2 1
S 1
U 1
M2 5
G
S/NL 1
SIG 1
S/AH3
S/AL
SA
S/CPR
S/GOV
S/IL
S/P 1
S/R 1
S/FW
S/PM
M/WP
G/PM 1

Geographic

AF5 X 5
ARA9
EA11
EUR10 10
NEA8

Functional

CU
E2
H 1
IGA
INR6 6
IO4 4
L2
O3
OPR
OC
SY
WLG
P2 2
SCA
SCS
SCI

OTHER AGENCIES

WH10 10
CIA 2
DOD 1
USIA4 4
NSA

Other

ACDA5
AID/EXSEC3 3
AA/AFR2 2
AA/VN2
AA/EA3
AA/NESA2

PC
VP
AEC3
AGR3
COM2
EXIM
FRB
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NIC
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S/S-EX
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S/S-O DIR
MilRep
Summary
Task Force

Geographic

AF5 X 5
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 10 10
NEA 8

Other

ACDA 5
AID/EXSEC 3 3
AA/AFR2 2
AA/VN 2
AA/EA 3
AA/NESA 2

Functional

CU
E 2
H
IGA
INR 6
IO 4
L 2
O 3
OPR
OC
SY
WLG

PC

VP

Principals

ES 2
S
U
M 2
G
S/NL
SIG
S/AH 3
S/AL
SA
S/CPR
S/GOV
S/IL
S/P
S/R
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S/PM
M/WP
G/PM

P 2
SCA
SCS
SCI

AEC 3
AGR 3
COM 2
EXIM
FRB
LAB
NASA
NIC
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TRANS
TRSY 6
JUS
IRS
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CEA
FAA

OTHER AGENCIES

WH 10
CIA
DOD
USIA 4
NSA

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 15576 241508Z

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ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, AID 28, SSO 00, CCO 00,

NSCE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SAH 02, RSR 01, /149 W
----- 112954

O P 241441Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4137
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USUN NEW YORK 746
CINCSTRIKE

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 15576

SUBJ: NIGERIAN HOLIDAY CEASEFIRE

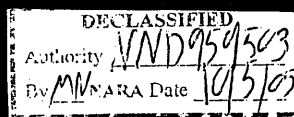
REF: STATE 291099

1. AT OPENING BUSINESS THIS MORNING AMBASSADOR REQUESTED APPOINTMENT WITH GOWON THROUGH EXTAFF. AT SAME TIME EMBASSY ASCERTAINED FROM ETHIOPIAN EMBASSY THAT EMPEROR'S CEASEFIRE APPEAL HAD BEEN DELIVERED TO FMG DECEMBER 21 AND THAT NO REPLY HAD BEEN RECEIVED.

2. ABOUT 1300 LOCAL EXTAFF INFORMED EMBASSY THAT FMG UNABLE TO AGREE TO EXTENDED CEASEFIRE, THAT EMPEROR HAD BEEN SO ADVISED AND THAT GOWON TOO FULLY ENGAGED TO RECEIVE AMBASSADOR TODAY. AT 1400 LOCAL NIGERIAN RADIO CARRIED REPORT THAT FMG HAD INFORMED EMPEROR IT UNABLE TO AGREE TO EXTENDED CEASEFIRE AS OJUKWU NOT INTERESTED IN PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. EMBASSY WILL CABLE TEXT OF FMG PRESS RELEASE ON WHICH BROADCAST BASED AS SOON AS COPY OBTAINED.
GP-4 MATHEWS

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POL 15-1 ETH
Department of State
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PAGE 01 LAGOS 15580 241642Z

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ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, ID 13, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, NSAE 00, DODE 00,

ABCE 00, GPM 04, NSC 10, SP 02, SS 20, RSC 01, L 03, H 02, P 04, INR 07,

AID 28, SCA 01, SCS 04, SAH 02, SA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, ACDA 16, E 15,

(RSR) 01, /169 W

113414

O P 241515Z DEC 68 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4139
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NY

UNCLAS LAGOS 15580

SUBJECT:- FMG REPLY TO HAILE SELASSIE

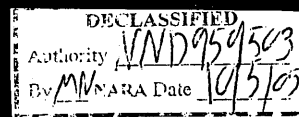
1. GENERAL GOWONS REPLY TO EMPERORS APPEAL FOR ONE WEEK TRUCE
WAS ISSUED AS PRESS RELEASE THIS AFTERNOON. TEXT FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT: A. WE HAVE GIVEN DEEPEST CONSIDERATION TO YOUR
IMPERIAL MAJESTYS CALL FOR ONE WEEK TRUCE BUT REGRET THAT FROM
THE AMPLE EVIDENCE AVAILABLE TO US THE REBEL LEADERSHIP ARE NOT
GENUINELY INTERESTED IN ANY CEASEFIRE ARRANGEMENTS AND IN SEEKING
LASTING PEACE. THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT IS AS EVER READY FOR
MEANINGFUL PEACE TALKS ON THE BASIS OF THE ALGIERS RESOLUTION OF
THE OAU SUMMIT WHICH THE SECESSIONIST LEADERS HAVE TREATED WITH
UTTER CONTEMPT. UNTIL THERE IS A CHANGE OF ATTITUDE BY THE
SECESSIONIST HIERACHY THE ONE WEEK TRUCE PROPOSED WILL ONLY
CREATE AN ILLUSION TO THE WHOLE WORLD AND RAISE FALSE HOPES.

2. YOUR IMPERIAL MAJESTY WILL BE SHOCKED TO LEARN THAT AFTER WE
DECLARED THE TWO DAY TRUCE FOR THE SOLEMN OCCASIONS OF
EID-IL-FITR AND CHRISTMAS, REBEL FORCES TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO

UNCLASSIFIED
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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 15580 241642Z

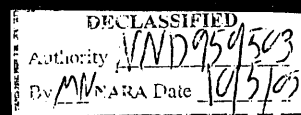
LAUNCH FIERCE ATTACKS ON FEDERAL TROOPS ON SALLAH DAY. NEVERTHELESS,
MY ORDER FOR A TRUCE ON CHRISTMAS DAY STILL STANDS TO ENABLE THOSE
ENGAGED IN THE WAR FRONTS TO OFFER THEIR PRAYER TO THE ALMIGHTY GOD.

C. WE ARE CONVINCED THAT THE REBELS WILL NOT USE YOUR GOOD.
INTENTIONED ONE WEEK TRUCE FOR PRAYERS TO ALMIGHTY GOD AS YOUR
MAJESTY AND MYSELF WOULD DO.

D. WITH RENEWED FRATERNAL GREETINGS AND BEST WISHES OF THE SEASON.
END TEXT MATHEWS

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POK 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

UNCLASSIFIED 106

PAGE 01 BERN 05273 241149Z

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ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, SAH 02, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00,
GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12,

RSR 01, 146 W

R 241030Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY BERN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1956

UNCLAS BERN 5273

SUBJ: NIGERIAN HOLIDAY CEASE-FIRE

REF: BERN 5261

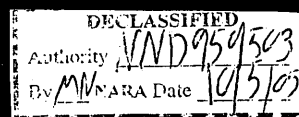
1. FEDERAL CHANCELLOR TOLD PRESS THAT FEDERAL COUNCIL, IN ITS MEETING DECEMBER 23, HAD NOTED WITH GREAT SATISFACTION THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF CEASE-FIRE IN NIGERIA DURING HOLIDAYS.

2. FEDERAL COUNCIL EXPRESSED HOPE THAT CEASE-FIRE WOULD NOT ONLY CONTRIBUTE TO ALLEVIATION OF SUFFERING OF POPULATION, BUT WOULD ALSO OPEN WAY TO SETTLEMENT OF TRAGIC CONFLICT.
LITTLE

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BERN-5273
12-24-68

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ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04,

H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, RSR 01,

/144 W

112701

R 241330Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4727
INFO USMISSION USUN
CINCSRIKE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE BELGRADE 5295

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN HOLIDAY CEASE-FIRE

REF: STATE 291068, 291099

TEXT OF PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE DELIVERED TO FONOFF DECEMBER 24.
AMERICAN DESK INFORMED OF US VIEWS PER PARA 3 DEPARTMENT
291099. DESK OFFICER STATED MESSAGE WOULD BE BROUGHT TO
PERSONAL ATTENTION STATE SECRETARY TODAY.

EXEMPT. ELBRICK

BELGRADE
12-24-68
5295

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MW NARA Date 10/5/03



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PAGE 01 OSLO 07895 241118Z

11
ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAF 00,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28,

RSR 01, 142 W

112024

P 241015Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY OSLO
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 2208
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA UNN
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN UNN
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN UNN
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI UNN
AMEMBASSY LAGOS UNN
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM UNN
USUN NEW YORK UNN
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK UNN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE OSLO 7895

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN HOLIDAY CEASE-FIRE

REF: STATE 291099

1. FONOFF ANNOUNCED DEC 23 GON SUPPORT FOR ETHIOPIAN
EMPEROR'S PROPOSAL FOR EIGHT-DAY CEASE-FIRE. GON HOPES
CEASE-FIRE WILL ENHANCE PROSPECTS FOR PEACE AND FOR BRINGING
ASSISTANCE TO CIVILIAN POPULATION.

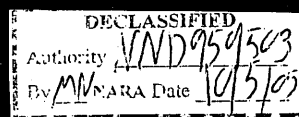
2. FONOFF SOURCE TOLD EMBOFF INSTRUCTIONS SENT GON REPS
LAGOS AND ABIDJAN IN ORDER CONVEY GON VIEWS TO BOTH
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND BIAFRA.

3. SOURCE ALSO STATED GOM HAS NOT RPT NOT YET DECIDED WHETHER
SUPPORT LORD BROCKWAY APPEAL FOR EXTENSION OF CEASE-FIRE.

GP-3. TIBBETTS

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 THE HA 08375 241215Z

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ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SAH 02, SR 01, ORM 03,

SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, /123 W

112294

R 241130Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3314
INFO AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 8375

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN HOLIDAY CEASE FIRE

REF: STATE 291068

FOLLOWING DEC. 23 MEETING WITH DE RANITZ REPORTED SEPTEL
I GAVE HIM COPY OF PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT SUPPORTING ETHIOPIA'S
APPEAL FOR TRUCE. DE RANITZ SAID GON HAD ALREADY MADE APPEAL
TO FMG IN LAGOS FOR HOLIDAY TRUCE IN RESPONSE TO URGING OF
SECOND CHAMBER DURING DEBATE DEC. 19

GP-4
TYLER

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DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 954503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/03



POL 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 BRUSSE 11273 231432Z

53
ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SA 01, ACDA 16, AID 28, RSR 01,

IO 13, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, /164 W

106959

P R 231358Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7761
INFO AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

C O N F I D E N T I A L BRUSSELS 11273

REF: STATE 291099 AND 291068
SUBJECT: NIGERIAN HOLIDAY CEASE-FIRE

DCM SAW DIRECTOR GENERAL FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS (VAN DER STRATEN-WAILLET) AT FOREIGN MINISTRY THIS MORNING CONCERNING NIGERIAN HOLIDAY CEASE-FIRE. VAN DER STRATEN SAID THAT, FOLLOWING CONSULTATION WITH THE DUTCH GOB HAD ON DECEMBER 20 INSTRUCTED BELGIAN AMBASSADOR AT LAGOS TO MAKE DEMARCHE TO FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA IN FAVOR OF "CHRISTMAS TRUCE." PARALLEL TELEGRAM SENT SAME DAY TO BELGIAN AMBASSADORS LIBREVILLE AND ABIDJAN INSTRUCTING THEM INTERCEDE WITH OBJUKWU IN THE SAME SENSE. VAN DER STRATEN SAID THAT IN LIGHT PRIOR GOB ACTION FOR HOLIDAY CEASE-FIRE, HE FELT SURE GOB WOULD HAVE NO DIFFICULTY IN ISSUING PUBLIC STATEMENT ASSOCIATING GOB WITH HIM AND OTHER INITIATIVES. VAN DER STRATEN SAID HE WOULD MAKE IMMEDIATE RECOMMENDATION TO FOREIGN MINISTER HARMEL FOR EARLY GOB STATEMENT.

GP-3. KNIGHT

CONFIDENTIAL

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Authority VND 954503
By MVA Date 10/5/03



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSAE 00, NSCE 00, SSO 00, USIE 00,

CCO 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20,

SAH 02, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, AID 28, RSR 01, /137 W

----- 105980

P 230925Z DEC 68

FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4127

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMCONSUL IBADAN

AMCONSUL KADUNA

USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

USMISSION GENEVA

UNCLAS LAGOS 15545

SUBJECT:- CHRISTMAS TRUCE

FBIS N230725, DECEMBER 23, REPORTS PRESUMABLY LIVE ADDRESS
BY OJUKWU ON RADIO BIAFRA ORDERING BIAFRAN ARMED FORCES TO OBSERVE
EIGHT DAY CHRISTMAS TRUCE EFFECTIVE MIDNIGHT DECEMBER 23 TO
MIDNIGHT JANUARY 1. MATHEWS

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Authority VND 959503
By MNARA Date 10/5/03



POL 2714 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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PAGE 01 LAGOS 15555 231321Z

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ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04,

SCA 01, SAH 02, RSR 01, 121 W

106654

P 231230Z DEC 68

FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4129

INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION USUN

CINCSRIKE

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 15555

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN HOLIDAY CEASEFIRE

REF: STATE 291099

1. IN ABSENCE ARIKPO WHO ENROUTE CALABAR FOR HOLIDAYS, AMBASSADOR HAS SENT LETTER TO GOWON TRANSMITTING TEXT PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT AND MAKING POINTS CONTAINED PARAGRAPH 5 REFTEL. AMBASSADOR ALSO MADE SAME POINTS ORALLY TO ENAHORO AT EXTAFF.

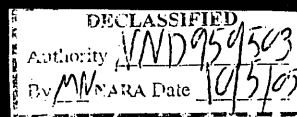
2. ENAHORO REACTED NEGATIVELY TO EXTENSION OF TRUCE BEYOND TWO DAYS ALREADY ANNOUNCED BY FMG. HE SAID HE WOULD HOWEVER CONVEY USG VIEWS TO HIGHER AUTHORITY.

3. THERE IS LITTLE DOUBT THAT FMG FORCES WERE IN ACTION ON DECEMBER 21 ALTHOUGH FMG APPARENTLY INTENDED THIS TO BE FIRST TRUCE DAY. AS GOWON HIMSELF WAS STILL CONFUSED AS TO DATES OF TWO DAY TRUCE WHEN CONGRESSMAN LUKENS LEFT HIM AT 1900 LOCAL DECEMBER 20, IT IS HIGHLY LIKELY THAT FIELD COMMANDER DID NOT GET ORDER FOR DECEMBER 21 TRUCE IN TIME.

①
EP-3. MATHEWS

CONFIDENTIAL
23

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 BERN 05261 231042Z

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ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, SAH 02, RSR 01, NSA 02, CIAE 00,
DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20,

USIA 12, 146 W

R 231000Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY BERN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1951

C O N F I D E N T I A L BERN 5261

SUBJ: NIGERIAN HOLIDAY CEASE-FIRE

REF: STATE 291099

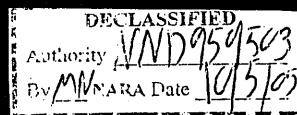
1. EMBOFF CALLED PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT TO ATTENTION.
MINISTER GELZER (HEAD WESTERN SECTION, FED. POL. DEPT) PER
INSTRUCTIONS PARA. 3 REFTEL AND GAVE HIM TEXT.

2. GELZER EXPRESSED APPRECIATION AND SAID FEDERAL COUNCIL
WAS ALREADY CONSIDERING ISSUING SIMILAR APPEAL FOR CEASE-
FIRE. IF SWISS DO DECIDE ISSUE APPEAL, IT WILL PROBABLY
BE OF GENERAL NATURE AND NOT RPT NOT IN SPECIFIC SUPPORT OF
ETHIOPIAN EMPEROR'S APPEAL.

GP-3. LITTLE

CONFIDENTIAL

0673



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POL 2714 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 ABIDJA 05332 231734Z

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ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, N&C 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SA 01, SR 01, ORM 03, ACDA 16,

AID 28, IO 13, SCS 04, SCA 01, E 15, RSR 01, 179 W
----- 107749

P R 231637Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3422
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L ABIDJAN 5332

SUBJ: NIGERIA HOLIDAY CEASE FIRE

REF: STATE 291099- *POL 27-14 B-afra niger*

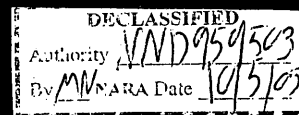
1. BEING UNABLE TO SEE FONMIN USHER PROMPTLY HAD DCM LEAVE
PRESIDENT'S DEC 21 STATEMENT WITH DIRECTOR OF CABINET ESSIENNE.
LATTER RESPONDED TO EXPRESSION U.S. DESIRE FOR PEACE AND APPROVAL
ETHIOPIAN EMPEROR'S ACTION BE REMARKING THAT LAST MINUTE NEWS
REPORTS FROM BIAFRA INDICATED OJUKWU'S ACCEPTANCE CEASE FIRE.
HE REMAINED NON-COMMITTAL WHEN PRESSED ON DESIRABILITY OPEN
GOIC SUPPORT HIM APPEAL.

2. COMMENT: ACCORDING IVORIAN BROADCAST MEDIA, OJUKWU HAS
PROPOSED SEVEN-DAY CEASE FIRE AND CALLED FOR OBSERVERS ON BOTH
SIDES OF BATTLE LINES. OJUKWU REPORTED STILL REJECTING USE
EXISTING AIR STRIPS FOR DAYTIME RELIEF FLIGHTS BUT NOW WILLING
BUILD NEW AIRSTRIP RESERVED EXCLUSIVELY FOR SUCH FLIGHTS.
GP-3 MORGAN

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ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SAH 02, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, RSR 01, SA 01, /147 W

231105Z DEC 68
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
SECSTATE WASHDC 7919 106381

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE ADDIS ABABA 7060

SUBJECT: NIGERIA TRUCE

PRIME MINISTER AKLILOU PHONED ME THIS MORNING AND ASKED
ME TO EXTEND THEIR SINCERE THANKS ON BEHALF HIM FOR
PRESIDENTIAL MESSAGE AND OTHER US SUPPORT OF HIM'S TRUCE
APPEAL. HALL

BIAFRA

12-0303

7060

RECEIVED BY 23/1

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By	MW NARA Date 10/5/05



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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 ADDIS 07065 231357Z

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ACTION AF 16

INFO SR 01,ORM 03,SSO 00,NSCE 00,USIE 00,SCS 04,SCA 01,AID 28,IO 13

EUR 15,CIAE 00,DODE 00,GPM 04,H 02,INR 07,L 03,NSAE 00,NSC 10,

P 04,RSC 01,SP 02,SS 20,RSR 01,135 W

106793

O 231449Z DEC 68

FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7923

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 7065

1. HIM HAS ASKED TO SEE ME TOMORROW MORNING (DEC 24) CONNECTION WITH HIS NIGERIA APPEAL. MINPALACE TAFFARA-WORO WHO CALLED ME REITERATED EMPEROR'S APPRECIATION FOR PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S PUBLIC STATEMENT OF SUPPORT. TAFFARA-WORO SAID IEG HAD HEARD NOTHING FROM GENERAL GOWON AS YET.

2. IF DEPT HAS ANY PARTICULAR POINTS IT WISHES ME MAKE, WOULD APPRECIATE GUIDANCE. HALL

ADDIS ABABA

7065
12-2300

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CONFIDENTIAL

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0676

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 959503
By	MMNARA
Date	10/5/05



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ACTION IO 15

INFO AF 10, SA 01, SAH 02, AID 28, EUR 15, ACDA 16, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04,
H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, NSA 02,
SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, /164 W
----- 108996

R 232153Z DEC 68
FM USMISSION USUN NY
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5613
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

C O N F I D E N T I A L USUN 8640.

REF: STATE'S 291068 AND 291099.

1. WIGGINS AND BUFFUM CALLED ON U THANT DEC 23 TO URGE HE
SUPPORT EMPEROR'S APPEAL FOR A CEASE-FIRE IN NIGERIA.

2. U THANT SAID THAT IN VIEW OF CONFLICTING PERIODS OF TRUCE
WHICH GOWON AND OJUKWU APPEARED TO BE ADVOCATING, IT WAS VERY
DIFFICULT FOR HIM TO TAKE A PRECISE STAND.

3. WE POINTED OUT THAT IN OUR VIEW SUPPORT FOR EMPEROR'S APPEAL
AS LEADER OF OAU WOULD CONSTITUTE A NEUTRAL APPROACH, AS
BETWEEN THE TWO PARTIES TO THE CONFLICT AND HOPED HE COULD TAKE
A STRONG STAND IN FAVOR OF EMPEROR'S POSITION. SYG REPEATED THAT
IN VIEW OF REACTIONS OF TWO SIDES TO THE EMPEROR'S APPEAL, HE
FELT THAT A STATEMENT ON HIS PART NOW WOULD BE CONSIDERED
PARTISAN.

GP-3.

WIGGINS

RECORDED BY 15/15

CONFIDENTIAL
42

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DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 954503
By MVA Date 10/5/03

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

SECRET
Classification

293173

NIGERIA

29 Dec 68 20 11z

FOR OC

Origin
ACTION: Amembassy LONDON IMMEDIATE
Info: LAGOS "
OTTAWA "

STATE

EXDIS

CODE ROOM: Repeat Addis Ababa 7142 to Amembassy London, Lagos,
Ottawa, slugged deliver Monday A.M.

293173

RUSK

③
Drafted by: AF/W:NTF:RPSmith:pk 12/29/68

Tel. Ext. 2619

Telegraphic transmission and
classification approved by: AF/W:NTF - R. P. Smith

Clearances:

AF - Mr. Palmer (subs) *pk*

EUR/BMI - I. Cheslaw (subs) *pk*

S/S - Mrs. Davis *pk*

SECRET

Classification

FORM DS-322
8-65

0678

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Authority VND 950/503
By MNA Date 10/5/03



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 819

PAGE 01 STATE 293173

82
ORIGIN SS 10

INFO: SSO 00, /010 R

DRAFTED BY: AF/W:NTF:RPSMITH
APPROVED BY: AF/N:NTF-R P SMITH
AF-MR. PALMER (SUBS)
EUR/BMI-I CHESLAW (SUBS)
S/S-MRS. DAVIS
66604

001253

O 292011Z DEC 68 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

S E C R E T STATE 293173

EXDIS:

DELIVER: MONDAY A.M.

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE, DECEMBER 29 FROM ADDIS ABABA
 REPEATED TO YOU:

QUOTE: SECRET ADDIS: ABABA 7142

EXDIS:

DELIVER SUNDAY A.M.

REF: A. ADDIS 5279; B. ADDIS 7136; C. LAGOS 15667

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PEACE TALKS-LOWENSTEIN-HIM TALKS

1. REPR. LOWENSTEIN AND COUNT VON ROSEN SAW HIM, MINPUO AND MINFONAFFI FOR HOUR AND HALF SATURDAY AFTERNOON AT DIRE DAWA PALACE. LOWENSTEIN, IN REPORTING CONVERSATION, SAID IT WENT WELL UNTIL VON ROSEN JOINED AFTER FIRST HALF HOUR AND CONTINUED INSIST HIM SUPPORT BIAFRAN INDEPENDENCE EFFORT. (HIM'S TOLERANCE

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PAGE 02 STATE 293173

OF VON ROSEN AS ORGANIZER IEG AIR FORCE PERMITTED LATTER TO DOMINATE SECOND HALF CONVERSATION WITH NON-STARTER SUGGESTIONS.)

2. SIMILAR COMMENT FROM FONMIN KETEMA WHEN I SAW HIM AT AIRPORT IN MEETING LOWENSTEIN UPON RETURN FROM DIRE DAWA. KETEMA THOUGHT CONVERSATION USEFUL AND SAID SUGGESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED WHEN HIM RETURNS FROM GODI MONDAY. HE ASKED ME CALL MONDAY A.M. FOR HIS RUNDOWN ON CONVERSATION AND IEG CONCLUSIONS.

3. HIM ENCOURAGED LOWENSTEIN GIVE USG FULL REPORT PROPOSALS DISCUSSED WITH OJUKWU AND EMPEROR WHICH HE SAID RELEASED HIM FROM RESTRAINT HE HAD FELT OUR PREVIOUS CONVERSATION. HE WILL WELCOME OPPORTUNITY FOR FULL DEBRIEFING IN DEPT AND WILL PROVIDE GREATER DETAIL ON IMPRESSIONS AND PROPOSALS.

4. LOWENSTEIN SAID HE DISCUSSED POLITICAL SETTLEMENT ONLY BRIEFLY AS IT HIS IMPRESSION AFTER OUR EARLIER TALK AND PRELIMINARY DISCUSSION WITH HIM AND MINISTERS THAT TERMS OAU RESOLUTION DID NOT PERMIT HIM TO CONSIDER ANY SETTLEMENT WHICH OJUKWU WOULD FIND POSSIBLE AS EVEN STARTING POINT NEGOTIATIONS. HOWEVER, OJUKWU HAD AUTHORIZED HIM TO SUGGEST TO HIM THAT OJUKWU, SUBJECT TO RATIFICATION BY HIS CABINET, WOULD BE PREPARED ACCEPT EXTENSION OF TRUCE TO A DATE CERTAIN TO PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY TO SEE IF THERE WAS BASIS FOR RESOLUTION OF CONFLICT WITHOUT FURTHER RECOURSE TO ARMS. LOWENSTEIN NOTED THAT THIS WAS A CONSIDERABLE CHANGE EARLIER BIAFRAN POSITION AS IT ACCEPTED FOR PRESENT LIMITS OF BIAFRAN-HELD TERRITORY AND DROPPED DEMAND FOR FMG WITHDRAWAL FROM REST EASTERN REGION. LOWENSTEIN SAID HE THOUGHT

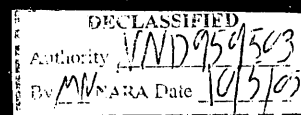
OJUKWU HAD MORE REALISTIC VIEW HIS ACTUAL MIL POSITION. RESULT THEIR TALKS OVER TWO DAYS AND THIS RETREAT FROM WITHDRAWAL DEMAND ONE RESULT.

5. LOWENSTEIN SAID HE DOUBTED OJUKWU WOULD BE WILLING DEAL WITH HIM ON POLITICAL SETTLEMENT BUT THAT IF SOME PERSON UNCOMMITTED TO EITHER SIDE COULD BE FOUND WHO COULD TRAVEL BETWEEN BIAFRAN AND NIGERIA SEEKING MAXIMIZE PEACE SENTIMENT HE FOUND IN BOTH GOVERNMENTS, HE THOUGHT THERE WAS GOOD CHANCE SETTLEMENT MIGHT BE REACHED. INDIVIDUAL SHOULD PREFERABLY BE AFRICAN BUT WHITE OR ASIAN WITH GOOD CREDENTIALS ON COLONIAL ISSUES MIGHT DO

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EQUALLY WELL. HIM HAD AGREED FIRST EFFORT SHOULD BE ON RELIEF CORRIDORS. KETEMA CONFIRMED THIS TO ME AND SAID HE SAW LITTLE IN POLITICAL SUGGESTIONS BROUGHT BY VON ROSEN AND LOWENSTEIN FOR HIM TO PURSUE WITH TWO PARTIES. POSSIBLY RELIEF AGREEMENT COULD BUILD SUFFICIENT CONFIDENCE TO PROVIDE BASIC LATER POLITICAL TALKS.

6. ON RELIEF, AGAIN WITH CAVEAT CABINET APPROVAL REQUIRED, (LOWENSTEIN AGREES THIS RESERVATION OFFERS BIAFRANS ESCAPE HATCH IF NIGERIANS ACCEPT TOO READILY AND BIAFRAN SUSPICIONS THUS AROUSED, BUT HE ALSO BELIEVES OJUKWU NOT FREE AGENT SUCH MATTERS AND MAJORITY GOVT PROBABLY MORE HAWKISH THAN OJUKWU), OJUKWU AUTHORIZED LOWENSTEIN TO INFORM HIM BIAFRA PREPARED ACCEPT FOLLOWING:

A. DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS TO AIRPORT BUILT BY RELIEF AGENCIES (OBILAGO) NOW IN NIGERIAN-HELD TERRITORY WITH FMG INSPECTION OF CARGOES AS UNLOADED PLANES AND PLACED ON ICRC TRUCKS FOR TRANSPORT FIVE MILES TO NO-MAN'S LAND BETWEEN TROOPS. TRANSFER POINT WOULD BE MANNED INTERNATIONALLY. BIAFRANS WOULD INSPECT TRUCK CARGOES IN OWN TERRITORY FOR POISONS, EXPLOSIVES, SPIES, ETC. (OJUKWU WISHES DISTRIBUTE GOODS IN BIAFRA BUT LOWENSTEIN CERTAIN THIS BEYOND GOVTS CAPACITY AND RED CROSS WOULD END UP WITH TASK). NATURE OF ROAD TO BIAFRA SUCH THAT IT DOES NOT CONSTITUTE MIL THREAT AND HAS NOT BEEN MINED, BARRICADED, AND COULD BE USED AT ONCE. BIAFRANS CONSIDER OTHER PROPOSED LAND ROUTES OFFER POSSIBILITY CRASH TANK ATTACK BEHIND RELIEF VEHICLES ONCE BARRICADES AND MINES REMOVED. THUS OTHER MAIN ROAD ROUTES UNACCEPTABLE.

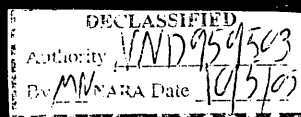
B. RIVER CROSSING TRANSFER OF SUPPLIES AT OGUTA ON SAME TERMS PROPOSED EARLIER BY HIM (REF A). OJUKWU NOTED THIS ROUTE PREVIOUSLY ACCEPTED THEN REJECTED BY BIAFRA WHEN PROPOSED EARLIER BY HIM. HE ADMITTED THIS ERROR BASED ON SUSPICION OF NIGERIAN ACCEPTANCE BUT ASSURED LOWENSTEIN HE NOW PREPARED ACCEPT.

7. BOTH ABOVE PROPOSALS SUGGESTED TO HIM AS SOLUTIONS HE MIGHT PROPOSE REPORTEDLY HIM PREPARED PUT SUGGESTIONS FORWARD BOTH SIDES. LOWENSTEIN AGREES PRINCIPAL DANGER IS PREMATURE LEAK OF PROPOSALS OF ACCEPTANCE BY ONE SIDE OR OTHER BEFORE TWO SIDES CAN AGREE. THUS NEGOTIATING TECHNIQUE AND SECURITY IMPORTANT.

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HE DISCUSSED WITH OJUKWU POSSIBILITY COMING ADDIS, OR OTHER POINT OUTSIDE BIAFRAN TERRITORY FOR MEETING WITH HIM. OJUKWU SAID IF HE LEFT NIGERIANS WOULD LAUNCH SURPRISE ATTACK AND RESISTANCE WOULD BE GREATLY WEAKENED. HE ALSO HINTED HE MIGHT LOSE CONTROL GOVT. LOWENSTEIN BELIEVES BOTH FACTORS OVERSTATED AND THAT MEETING COULD BE ARRANGED ABIDJAN, LIBREVILLE OR NIAMEY. HE URGED THIS ON OJUKWU BECAUSE OF HIS ISOLATION FACTS BIAFRAN INTERNATIONAL POSITION. LOWENSTEIN ALSO NOTED DIFFICULTY ANY SENIOR AFRICAN REACHING BIAFRA WITHOUT FMG APPROVAL BUT BELIEVED VISIT MIGHT BE ARRANGED AND THOUGHT IT WOULD BE USEFUL. HE CLEAR NEGOTIATION PROCESS DIFFICULT ARRANGE BUT HOPEFUL HIM WILL MOVE PROMPTLY.

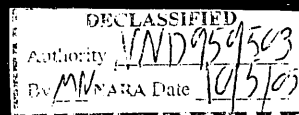
8. REPR LOWENSTEIN ALSO MADE NUMBER INTERESTING OBSERVATIONS ON PATTERN LIFE IN BIAFRA AND COMMENTS KEY PERSONALITIES WHICH HE PREFERS COMMUNICATE DIRECTLY DEPT OFFICERS. HE ASKS ABOVE INFO BE HANDLED ON INFO BASIS AND RESTRICTED IN DISTRIBUTION.

9. COMMENT: MY IMPRESSION IS, WITH EXCEPTION COMPLICATIONS INTRODUCED BY COUNT VON ROSEN AND INITIAL EMB AWKWARDNESS RESULTING LACK ANY ADVANCE KNOWLEDGE VISIT AND ITS PURPOSE, MEETING WITH HIM USEFUL AND APPRECIATED BY IEG. I BELIEVE REPR. LOWENSTEIN ALSO SATISFIED. HOPEFULLY HIS SUGGESTIONS MAY SERVE MOVE HIM VIGOROUS AND POSITIVE ACTION ON RELIEF QUESTIONS. WOULD APPRECIATE DEPT OBSERVATIONS ON RELIEF ROUTE PROPOSALS, IF ANY, BEFORE I SEE KETEMA MONDAY. DO WE OR BRITISH WISH TO SURFACE PROPOSALS REFC? SIGNED HALL. UNQUOTE. RUSK

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POL 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 MOSCOW 06933 231524Z

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ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, USIA 12, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28,

SCS 04, SCA 01, SAH 02, RSR 01, /151 W

107196

R 231435Z DEC 68

FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 736

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOSCOW 6933

REF: STATE 291099

1. PURSUANT TO PARAGRAPH 6 REFTEL, I TODAY GAVE KUZNETSOV
COPY OF THE PRESIDENT'S STATEMENT IN SUPPORT ETHIOPIAN
EMPEROR'S APPEAL FOR NIGERIAN CEASE-FIRE AND URGED THAT
SOVIET GOVERNMENT ISSUE A PUBLIC STATEMENT IN SUPPORT. I
POINTED OUT THAT MANY OTHER GOVERNMENTS WERE DOING SO
INCLUDING, I UNDERSTOOD, A LARGE NUMBER OF AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS.

2. KUZNETSOV SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT GENERAL GOWON, THE
HEAD OF THE NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT, HAD ALREADY PROPOSED A
CEASE-FIRE DURING THE HOLIDAYS. HE SAID THE SOVIET POLICY
TOWARD NIGERIA WAS WELL KNOWN AND IT WAS NOT NECESSARY TO
RESTATE IT. I PRESSED HIM FURTHER BUT WAS UNABLE TO GET
ANYTHING MORE OUT OF HIM.

THOMPSON

CONFIDENTIAL

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DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 959503
By MVA Date 10/5/03

37

POL 27-14 BIAFRA NIGERIA

POL 15-1 US/JOHNSON

291099

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

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Classification

22 DEC 66 00 18
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Origin

ACTION: CIRCULAR

Info

SUBJECT: Nigerian Holiday Cease-fire

REF: State 291068-27-14 BIAFRA NIGERIA

1. President Johnson today (Dec 21) issued statement (reftel) in support of Ethiopian Emperor's appeal on Dec 20 for seven-day ceasefire in Nigerian war in hopes of maximizing effects and possible success of appeal. Possibility exists of creating situation during cease-fire conducive to further and more permanent negotiations leading to end of hostilities.

2. Emperor's proposal would begin ceasefire on Dec 23. Federal Government of Nigeria (FMG) Head General Gowon announced Dec 20 unilateral cease-fire on part FMG for Moslem feast Id-al-Fitr and Christmas. FMG cease-fire presumably would have effect Dec 21 and Dec 25, but press reports indicate that some confusion over dates of Moslem holiday might bring about de facto cease-fire on part FMG forces from Dec 21 until 25. Biafran response to cease-fire still unreported.

3. Pope may include support for HIM cease-fire appeal in papal message Dec. 22. USG hopes maximum number heads of states will support HIM appeal. Addressee posts are requested draw Presidential statement to attention host governments as appropriate to emphasize our desire for peace in Nigeria, US approval for HIM action and urge host government's public support. FYI: We are particularly anxious to obtain support of those governments supporting

Drafted by AF/W:RMB/GBSherry:lsr 12/21/68	Tel. Ext. 6402	Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Robert P. Smith
Clearance AF - Mr. Palmer (draft)		U - Mr. Katzenbach (draft)
EUR/SCV - Mr. Buchanan (subst)		IO/UNP - Mr. Gleysteen (subst)

FORM DS-322
8-65

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Authority VMD 954563
By MNA Date 10/5/05

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Biafra. END FYI

4. FOR ADDIS ABABA: Embassy requested convey to appropriate high-level IEG officials our deepest appreciation for statesmanlike appeal made by Emperor. We hope that courageous appeal made by Emperor will lead to new situation resulting in meaningful negotiations between contending sides in Nigeria. Emperor should be informed that USG is asking UNSYG and major world capitals, including Moscow and Paris, to join us in support of Emperor's appeal. USG also ~~has expressed~~ strong support in Lagos and indirectly to Biafran leaders through unofficial Biafran reps abroad. In addition to President's statement, USG prepared provide further support if opportunity present for exploitation of favorable situation created by Emperor's statement.

5. FOR LAGOS: FMG initiative in ordering two-day cease-fire is praiseworthy major step in ~~fixing~~ right direction which USG warmly welcomes. ~~FMG's seven-day~~
~~xxxxx~~ Embassy should draw high-level FMG attention to Presidential statement, point out probable wide support for HIM's appeal in Africa and other capitals, and strongly urge FMG concurrence in seven-day cease-fire proposed by Emperor. You should particularly emphasize widespread support HIM's appeal likely to generate and importance of FMG's being responsive.

6. FOR MOSCOW: [REDACTED] Embassy should approach USSR govt at appropriate level asking that public statement of support by Soviet Govt for HIM cease-fire appeal be made and if possible conveyed to FMG as soon as possible. Suggest point out probability of majority African backing for HIM initiative, as well as widespread support other world capitals.

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Authority VND 9509503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

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Activity

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Page 3 of telegram to CIRCULAR

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[FOR USUN: Strong public support by SYG for HIM's cease-fire appeal would have significant effect and would enhance UN posture in Nigerian problem (U Thant has regarded OAU, in which Emperor Chairman of Consultative Committee on Nigerian war, as primary agency seized with Nigerian problem). Request Mission urge on SYG desirability his promptly associating himself with Emperor's call for cease-fire.

GP-3

END

SEND TO:	ALL AF DIPLOMATIC POSTS	PRIORITY
	ALL EUR DIPLOMATIC POSTS	"
	US MISSION GENEVA	"
	USUN	"
	CINCSRIKE	"

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8-63
CONTINUATION SHEET

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Authority	1/ND 950/503
By	MM/ARA Date 10/5/02

37

POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

XR POL 15-1 US/JOHNSON

291068

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
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21 DEC 60 10 34z

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Origin
Info

ACTION: ALL AF DIPLOMATIC POSTS PRIORITY
ALL EUR DIPLOMATIC POSTS PRIORITY
Amconsul IBADAN
Amconsul KADUNA
US MISSION GENEVA
USUN NEW YORK
CINCSTRIKE

SUBJ: President's Statement on Nigeria Truce

1. White House released December 21 following statement by President Johnson:

QTE His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of Ethiopia, has appealed to both sides in the Nigerian civil war to observe a ~~week~~ week-long truce on the occasion of Christmas and the Muslim holiday of 'Id al-Fitr.

I wish to express the heartfelt support of the American people for this statesmanlike act. We earnestly hope that all nations will join us in urging the parties in this tragic conflict to accept this truce.

The Nigerian Government has already issued orders for a two-day cease fire. It is the fervent desire of all Americans that this action will be reciprocated by the Biafran authorities and that both sides will agree to extend this arrangement to the full period proposed by the Emperor.

A cease-fire, however, brief, will be a precious respite from the bloodshed and destruction that has stricken Nigeria. But silencing the guns for seven days will not alone save the millions who face starvation or heal the deep wounds dividing a great nation.

Drafted by: AF/W:RPSmith:lsr	12/21/68	Tel. Ext. 6402	Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: Robert P. Smith Nigerian Task Force
Clearances: EUR - Mr. McKisson (subst) White House - Mr. Saunders (subst)		AF - Mr. Palmer	

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Only the end of fighting will permit a deeply concerned world to provide the necessary quantities of food and medicine to those in desperate need on both sides of the lines of battle. From this pause we hope that both sides will summon new courage to make peace. UNQTE

END

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CONTINUATION SHEET

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By	MMNARA Date 10/5/03



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSAE 00, NSCE 00, SSO 00, USIE 00,
CCO 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20,
SAH 02, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCSE 00, SCA 01, RSR 01, 133 W
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P 211158Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 4114
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

UNCLAS LAGOS 15518

SUBJ: HOLIDAY CEASEFIRE IN NIGERIA

1. GOWON WAS GENERALLY UNDERSTOOD TO HAVE ANNOUNCED ON
DECEMBER 20 THAT FMG WOULD OBSERVE CEASEFIRE ON TWO
DAYS DURING HOLIDAY SEASON -- DECEMBER 23 AND DECEMBER 25.
DECEMBER 23 IS DATE SELECTED HERE FOR OBSERVANCE EID-AL-FITR.

2. THIS MORNING FURTHER STATEMENT MADE THAT CEASEFIRE TO
BE OBSERVED TODAY (DECEMBER 21), POSSIBLY MONDAY
DECEMBER 23, AND DEFINITELY WEDNESDAY DECEMBER 25. AS
DAY WEARS ON, OTHER VERSIONS ARE CROPPING UP.

3. CONFUSION ARISES PARTLY FROM QUESTION OF WHICH OF
DAYS AT END OF RAMADAN SHOULD BE OBSERVED.

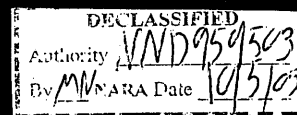
4. UNDERSTAND BROCKWAY HAS SENT WORD THROUGH UKHICOM TO
LONDON TO ASK BIAFRAN REPRESENTATIVES TO URGE OBSERVANCE
OF CEASEFIRE ON OJUKWU.

COMMENT: PICTURE STILL FAR FROM CLEAR. ENOUGH STATEMENTS
AND RUMORS NOW CIRCULATING TO COVER ENTIRE PERIOD FROM
DECEMBER 21 THROUGH DECEMBER 25.

MATHEWS

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Department of State

TELEGRAM

SECRET 696

PAGE 01 ADDIS 07037 201321Z

42
ACTION SS 70

INFO SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, CCO 00, 7070 W
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O R 201240Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7906
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USUN NEW YORK 461
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME

S E C R E T ADDIS ABABA 7037

L I M I T S

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN TRUCE APPEAL

REF: ADDIS ABABA 7023

1. NO DEVELOPMENTS FROM UK MEETING WITH FONMIN MENTIONED REFTTEL. IN MEETING WITH BRITISH AMBASSADOR LATE LAST NIGHT PRIME MINISTER REPORTED THAT NO DECISION YET TAKEN ON CHRISTMAS TRUCE APPEAL, THOUGH HE PERSONALLY FAVORABLE.

2. THIS MORNING FOREIGN MINISTER'S PRIVATE SECRETARY CALLED DCM TO REPORT THAT TRUCE APPEAL BEING GIVEN FAVORABLE CONSIDERATION WITHIN IEG AND TO CONVEY APPRECIATION FOR US OFFER OF SUPPORT. SAID HOWEVER THAT HIM WOULD NOT RETURN ADDIS FROM GEMU GOFA UNTIL MONDAY DECEMBER 23 AND THAT CONSEQUENTLY NO DECISION ON TRUCE APPEAL COULD BE TAKEN UNTIL DECEMBER 23 OR 24.

3. BRITISH EMBASSY RECEIVED SAME MESSAGE AND REPLIED WITH LETTER TO MOFA POINTING OUT THAT HIM APPEAL ON DECEMBER 23 OR 24 COULD PRESENT TIMING DIFFICULTIES IN VIEW GOWON'S INTENTION; REPORTED TO UKHICOMER LAGOS, TO OBSERVE DE FACTO TRUCE DECEMBER 23 AND 24. LETTER URGED EARLIER DECISION SO THAT HIM APPEAL COULD PREDATE DE FACTO TRUCE. DCM TOOK

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 07037 201321Z

OPPORTUNITY NOT SAME POINT TO PRIVATE SECRETARY ORALLY.

4. PRIVATE SECRETARY LATER CALLED BRITISH AND US EMBASSIES TO SAY THAT FONMIN HAD READ BRITISH LETTER AND EXPECTED TO COMMUNICATE WITH EMPEROR IN GEMU GOFA RE POSSIBILITY EARLIER APPEAL. PROMISED INFORM BOTH EMBASSIES IMMEDIATELY ANY

RESPONSE.

5. WE HAVE SEEN NO INDICATIONS THUS FAR THAT HIM HAS CONSULTED WITH OTHER FIVE COMCOM HEADS OF STATE ON CHRISTMAS TRUCE APPEAL.

6. APOSTOLIC INTERNUNCIATURE HERE HAS RECEIVED TELEGRAM SAYING POPE PROPOSES SEND CONFIDENTIAL LETTERS TO BOTH SIDES EXHORTING THEM IN SPIRIT OF CHRISTMAS TO RESUME NEGOTIATIONS. PAPAL LETTER WOULD NOT MAKE A SPECIFIC APPEAL FOR CHRISTMAS TRUCE. INTERNUNCIATURE HAS OFFERED MAKE AVAILABLE ADVANCE COPY OF ANY SUCH LETTER. THERE HAS BEEN NO DIRECT CONTACT BETWEEN INTERNUNCIATURE AND IEG BUT FORMER KEEPING VATICAN INFORMED ON BRITISH AND US EFFORTS IN ADDIS INTERNUNCIATURE BELIEVES THERE IS ALSO A POSSIBILITY POPE WILL MAKE APPEAL FOR PEACE IN NIGERIA IN URGE ET ORBE ADDRESS ON CHRISTMAS. HALL

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MW NARA
Date	10/5/05

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TOP SECRET

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POST ADDIS ABABA

(Time Received)

SERIAL 7037

66 DEC 20 10 10 17

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MONTHLY COUNT 30.1

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Geographic

Other

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EUR 10
NEA 8

ACDA 5
AID/EXSEC 3
AA/AFR 2
AA/VN 2
AA/EA 3
AA/NESA 2

Functional

Principals

ES 2
S 1
U 5
M 2
G 5
S/NL 1
SIG 1
S/AH 3
S/AL 1
SA 1
S/CPR 1
S/GOV 1
S/IL 1
S/P 1
S/R 1
S/FW 1
S/PM 1
M/WP 1
G/PM 1

CU 1
E 2
H 1
IGA 1
INR 6
IO 4
L 2
O 3
OPR 1
OC 1
SY 1
WLG 1
P 2
SCA 1
SCS 1
SCI 1

PC 1
VP 1
AEC 3
AGR 3
COM 2
EXIM 1
FRB 1
LAB 1
NASA 1
NIC 1
STR 1
TRANS 1
TRSY 6
JUS 1
IRS 1
INT 1
BOB 1
FBI 1
CEA 1
FAA 1

OTHER AGENCIES

WH 10
CIA 1
DOD 1
USIA 4
NSA 1

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Burned _____

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DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 959503
By MMNARA Date 10/15/05



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 15492 201921Z

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ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODF 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20, ACDA 16, AID 28, PC 04, SR 01, ORM 03,

SCSE 00, SCA 01, RSR 01, /153 W

096389

R 201455Z DEC 68
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4095
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA UNN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA UNN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA UNN
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY UNN
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AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE UNN
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NY
USIA WASHDC

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UNCLAS LAGOS 15492

USIA FOR IBS

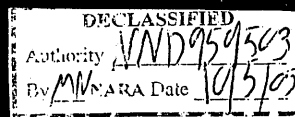
SUBJ NIGERIAN PRESS ROUNDUP DECEMBER 20

1. ALL PAPERS REPORT THAT LORD BROCKWAY AND LABOR MP GRIFFITHS WILL CALL ON GENERAL GOWON TODAY TO DISCUSS POSSIBILITY OF CHRISTMAS CEASE-FIRE AND WAYS TO END CIVIL WAR. BROCKWAY DENIED IN AIRPORT INTERVIEW THAT HE HAD PRO-BIAFRAN BIAS, DISOWNING ANY PRESS REPORTS OF PRO-REBEL STATEMENTS BY HIM AND MAINTAINED HE WAS IMPARTIAL IN NIGERIAN CONFLICT.

2. TIMES AND POST REPORT STATEMENTS BY CATHOLIC ARCHBISHOP OF LAGOS AGGEY DENYING CARITAS INVOLVEMENT IN SUPPLYING REBELS WITH ARMS AND STATING THAT CHURCH DETERMINED TO AID FMG IN REHABILITATION AND RECONSTRUCTION WORK. CHARGES OF PRO-BIAFRAN ATTITUDE AGAINST

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 15492 201921Z

CHURCH DESCRIBED BY AGGEY AS QTE BASELESS, EMBARRASING AND UNWARRANTED UNQTE. PILOT CARRIES EDITORIAL WHICH STATES THAT WHEN BISHOPS" DELEGATION LEFT FOR ROME TO SEE POPE, IMPRESSION WAS THAT THEY FELT QTE SOMETHING HAD GONE WRONG AND IT IMPERATIVE FOR THEM TO GO AND SEE POPE IN ORDER TO PUT IT RIGHT UNQTE. ON RETURN DELEGATION ISSUED STATEMENT DEFENDING POPE AND CARITAS, PILOT STATES, WHICH IS FINE, BUT IF THAT WAS ALL THEY GATHERED IN ROME THEN PILOT QUESTIONS WHY TRIP WAS NECESSARY. EDITORIAL CLOSES BY EXPRESSING HOPE THAT POPE WILL USE HIS GOOD OFFICES FOR PEACE IN ORDER TO BRING TWO WARRING FACTIONS TOGETHER AGAIN.

3. TIMES AND TRIBUNE REPORT WITHOUT COMMENT AWARD IN LONDON OF JACK CAMPBELL LITERARY PRIZE, SPONSORED BY NEW STATESMAN, TO NIGERIAN PLAYWRIGHT WOLE SOYINKA. MATHEWS

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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PAGE 01 ADDIS 07047 201719Z

45
ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, SSO 00, CCO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00,

GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS

ACDA 16, SA 01, SAH 02, SR 01, RSR 01, /118 W

096030

O 201650Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7913
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USUN NEW YORK 462
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME

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SUBJECT NIGERIAN TRUCE APPEAL

REF: ADDIS ABABA 7037

1. IEG FONOFF INFORMS US FOLLOWING STATEMENT BY HIM WILL BE RELEASED ON RADIO THIS EVENING. TEXT IS ALREADY BEEN CABLED TO GOWON AND OJUKWU. UK, ITALIAN EMBASSY AND PAPAL INTERNUNCIATURE IN ADDIS HAVE ALSO BEEN INFORMED. QTE ON THE EVE OF THE CHRISTMAS HOLIDAY IN COMMEMORATION OF THE BIRTH OF OUR LORD SAVIOUR JESUS CHRIST AND ON THE OCCASION OF THE GREAT MOSLEM HOLIDAY ID AL-FITIRE WE APPEAL TO YOUR EXCELLENCY TO OBSERVE A TRUCE FOR ONE WEEK BEGINNING ON MONDAY DECEMBER 23, 1968 TO ENABLE ALL THOSE INVOLVED IN THE NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR TO CELEBRATE THIS DOUBLE HOLIDAY IN OFFERING THEIR PRAYER TO THE ALMIGHTY GOD IN A FRATERNAL SPIRIT IN THE BELIEF THAT THIS TRUCE WILL LEAD TO A LASTING PEACE IN NIGERIA. HAILE SELASSIE I, EMPEROR UNQTE

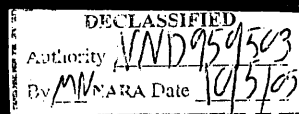
2. FONOFF STATED HIM WOULD WELCOME EARLY SUPPORTING STATEMENT BY PRESIDENT IF POSSIBLE. IEG IN

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 07047 201719Z

ANY EVENT REQUESTS SUPPORT-
ING STATEMENT SOONEST BY APPROPRIATE LEVEL USG AS OFFERED
IN OUR APPROACH DEC 19 (ADDIS 7023 AND 7037.)

3. WE BELIEVE HIM DECISION TO MAKE ABOVE STATEMENT INFLUENCED
BY INDICATIONS FMG WOULD OBSERVE DE FACTO TRUCE DEC 23-24.
LATTER WILL PRESENT EXCELLENT OPPORTUNITY FMG PRESENT RESPONSIVE
FACE IN LIKELY EVENT AGREEMENT TO PROPOSED FULL TRUCE CANNOT
BE OBTAINED FROM BOTH PARTICIPANTS. HALL

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SECRET 371

PAGE 01 ADDIS 07023 200804Z

19
ACTION AF 16INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSAE 00, NSCE 00, SSO 00, USIE 00,
CCO 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 20,
SA 01, SAH 02, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, RSR 01, /133 W
092984O R 191310Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7895
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
USUN NEW YORK 460

S E C R E T ADDIS ABABA 7023

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y TEXT, CLASSIFICATION AND REFERENCE

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN TRUCE APPEAL

REFERENCE: STATE 289042

C

EMBASSY INFORMED HIM IS IN ARBA MINCH, NOT RPT NOT EXPECTED
BACK IN ADDIS BEFORE WEEKEND. MINFONAFF KETEMA AND MINPAL
ALSO ABSENT THIS MORNING. EMB HAS PASSED WRITTEN WORD PER
REFTTEL TO KETEMA'S OFFICE AND PALACE AND DISCUSSED WITH
AVAILABLE OFFICIALS INCLUDING MINSTATE MOFA DR. TESFAYE.
LATTER SAID HE HAD BEEN INVOLVED IN IEG DISCUSSION OF APPEAL
PROPOSAL BUT ADDED THAT APPEAL PRESENTED DIFFICULTIES FROM
HIM. NATURE OF DIFFICULTIES NOT SPECIFIED BUT CONJECTURE
IS MAY INVOLVE RELUCTANCE OF HIM TO MOVE WITHOUT EXPLICIT
BACKING FROM COMM COLLEAGUES. BRITISH AMBASSADOR HAS
REQUESTED APPOINTMENT WITH KETEMA FOR THIS AFTERNOON ON
LONDON STRUCTIONS TO SECURE WHEATEVER READING OF HIM'S
INTENTIONS POSSIBLE THIS STAGE. BRIT EMB HAS PROMISED US
(AS WELL AS ADDIS PAPAL REP) FULL REPORT. HALL

RECEIVED BY 03/11

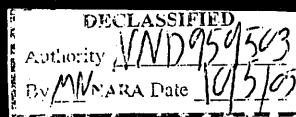
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ADDIS ABABA

7023

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66

PC L 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

289042

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

SECRET

Classification

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18 DEC 68 20 16z

Origin
Info:
ACTION: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE
INFO : Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY
" LONDON "
" PARIS "
" ROME "
USMission GENEVA "
USUN "

LIMITS

Ref: a) Addis 7001, b) 7005 c) London 15225

Subj: Nigerian Christmas/Ramadan Truce

Ref B para 2. You should inform appropriate Ethiopian authority that

USG believes Christmas/end-of-Ramadan truce in Nigerian/~~war~~ has considerable merit for humanitarian reasons and as possible first step toward ~~xx~~

ceasefire. We hope that HIM would be willing make public appeal for
USG would also be happy publicly to support such an appeal.
truce possibly on December 19 as noted ref A. / While we recognize that

effort may not be successful, believe that this is important opportunity to impress on combatants extent of African and world concern. We concur that it would be desirable if time permits for HIM to make initial appeal with subsequent Papal endorsement.

RUSK

17

Drafted AF/W:ALagan:ba 12/18/68	Tel. Ext. 6402	Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: AF - Joseph Palmer 2nd
Clearances: AF/NE-JABuche EUR/AIS-Mr. Taylor WH:Mr. Saunders (subs) U- Mr. Homme S/S - Mr. Brown		

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FORM 8-65 DS-322

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By M/NARA Date 10/5/02



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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 484

PAGE 01 LAGOS 15402 181453Z

49

ACTION SS 70

INFO CIAE 00,1070 W

080897

R 181228Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4045
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 15402

LYMDIS

SUBJ: SHEPHERD VISIT TO LAGOS

REF: ADDIS 7001

1. INFORMATION MADE AVAILABLE TO US HERE DOES NOT SUPPORT ALLEGATIONS IN PARAGRAPH 2 OF REFTEL.

2. WE UNDERSTAND THAT WHILE GOWON WAS NOT ENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT PROPOSED WILSON TRIP, ATMOSPHERE OF TALKS WAS FRIENDLY.

3. UKHICOM MESSAGE OF DEC 16 TO LONDON STATES QTE FINAL MEETING WITH GOWON AND ARIKPO, PLUS OFFICIALS, WAS EXCEPTIONALLY CORDIAL. LORD SHEPHERD HAD THE IMPRESSION THEY WERE TRYING TO SMOOTH OVER ANY ASPERITIES THAT MIGHT HAVE ARISEN FROM THEIR PROTEST ABOUT PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES AND THEIR COMPLAINTS ABOUT ARMS UNQTE.

4. WE HAVE HAD NO REPORTS HERE OF WILSON'S REACTION TO FMG TURNDOWN OF HIS OFFER.

GR-1

MATHEWS

CONFIDENTIAL

29

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By MVA Date 10/5/05

L I M D I S
I N C O M I N G

TOP SECRET

Screeners

POST

LAGAS

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(Time Received)

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DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT 331

Secretariat

S/S-S
S/S-O
S/S-Screener 3
S/S-EX
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MilRep
Summary
Task Force

Geographic

AF5
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 10
NEA 8

Other

ACDA 5
AID/EXSEC 3
AA/AFR 2
AA/VN 2
AA/EA 3
AA/NESA 2

Functional

CU
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COM 2
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TRSY 6
JUS
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CEA
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OTHER AGENCIES

WH 10
CIA
DOD
USIA 4
NSA

Principals

ES 2
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S/AH 3
S/AL
SA
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File
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By MVA Date 10/5/03



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 111

PAGE 01 ADDIS 07001 171740Z

40
ACTION SS 70

INFO CIAE 00, /070 W

075222

R 171530Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7881
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USUN
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 7001

LIMDIS

SUBJECT: NIGERIA CHRISTMAS TRUCE

1. FOL INFO PROVIDED BY UK EMB OFFICIAL. PARLIA-
MENTARY UNDERSECRETARY MAURICE FOLEY HAS MET IN ROME WITH
VATICAN OFFICIALS PAST FEW DAYS TO DISCUSS COORDINATED HAILE
SELASSIE-POPE PAUL APPEAL FOR CHRISTMAS TRUCE IN NIGERIA.
BRITISH EMBASSY CONSELOR ALSO MET WITH HIS COUNTERPART IN
APOSTOLIC DELEGATION HERE DEC 16 TO DISCUSS SAO SUBJECT.
UK PROPOSING EMPEROR MAKE INITIAL APPEAL AND POPE SECOND IT,
WITH TIMING TO BE WORKED OUT BETWEEN HIM AND VATICAN.
HMG HOPES KEEP ITS BEHIND-SCENES ROLE IN APPEAL AS INVISIBLE
AS POSSIBLE. BRITISH EMB FEELS MOST LOGICAL TIME FOR POPE'S
ENDORSEMENT WOULD BE HIS DEC 20 CHRISTMAS MSG, IN
WHICH CASE EMPEROR SHOULD MAKE HIS APPEAL DEC 19.

2. SAME UK EMB SOURCE REPORTED THAT EXCHANGE OF MESSAGES BE-
TWEEN WILSON AND GOWON ON PROPOSED WILSON TRIP TO AFRICA EX-
TREMELY BLUNT. SOURCE SAID GOWON PULLED NO PUNCHES IN
SAYING WILSON VISIT UNWELCOME AND WILSON INSINUATED
GOWON HAD "BETRAYED" HIM. HALL

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0701

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By <i>MMNARA</i> Date <i>10/5/05</i>

L I M D I S
I N C O M I N G

TOP SECRET

Screener 2/2

POST ADDIS ABABA

(Time Received)

SERIAL 7001

DEC 17 PM 3 19

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Secretariat

S/S-S 1
S/S-O 1
S/S-Screener 3
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MilRep
Summary
Task Force

Principals

ES 2 ✓
S 4 ✓
U 4 ✓
M 2
G
S/NL
SIG 1 ✓
S/AH 3
S/AL
SA
S/CPR
S/GOV
S/IL
S/P 1 ✓
S/R 1 ✓
S/FW
S/PM
M/WP
G/PM 1 ✓

Geographic

AF5 X 5
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 10 ✓
NEA 8

Functional

CU
E 2
H 1 ✓
IGA
INR 6 ✓ 10
IO4
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P 2 2 ✓
SCA
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SCI

OTHER AGENCIES

WH 10 ✓ 10
CIA 0
DOD 1
USIA 4 ✓ 4
NSA

Other

ACDA 5
AID/EXSEC 3
AA/AFR 2
AA/VN 2
AA/EA 3
AA/NESA 2

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 15312 150818Z

10
ACTION P 04

INFO AF 10, EUK 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, INR 07, RSC 01, USIA 12, NSA 02,

RSR 01, /065 W

063795

R 150700Z DEC 68
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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3996
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA UNN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA UNN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA UNN
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE UNN
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
USIA WASHDC

UNCLAS LAGOS 15312

USIA FOR IBS

SUBJ: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUND-UP DECEMBER 14

1. ALL PAPERS EXCEPT POST FEATURE ARTICLES ON BRITISH HOUSE OF COMMONS DEBATE ON NIGERIA. TIMES AND SKETCH HEADLINE THAT WILSON TOLD LABOR BACKBENCHERS HMG TRYING TO GET CEASEFIRE IN NIGERIA BEFORE CHRISTMAS.

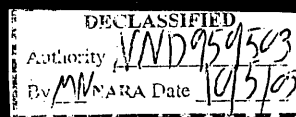
2. TIMES GIVES BIG PLAY TO LONDON TIMES REPORT OF STATEMENTS BY UK OBSERVER FERGUSSON THAT BIAFRANS "OFTEN AT GUN POINT, FORCED CIVILIANS OUT OF THEIR TOWNS AND THEN INTO CONCENTRATION CAMPS."

3. TIMES EDITORIAL ON CURRENT EFFORTS TO GET PEACE TALKS GOING AGAIN, STATES WHILE PAST PERFORMANCES OF REBELS AT PEACE TALKS NOT ENCOURAGING, IT CANNOT BE DECIDED IN ADVANCE THAT NOTHING WORTHWHILE WILL COME FROM FURTHER TALKS. EXPRESSES BELIEF THAT REAL KEY TO ENDING WAR IS IF "SATISFACTORY ANSWERS TO PROBLEMS

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 15312 150818Z

WHICH LED TO CIVIL WAR" CAN BE FOUND. THIS MEANS OJUKWU MUST BE PERSUADED BY THOSE "WHO HAVE SHOWN MUCH SYMPATHY FOR SUFFERING IN EAST CENTRAL STATE" TO ENGAGE IN PEACE TALKS WITH FMG "ON REALISTIC TERMS."

4. POST AND SKETCH REPORT, FROM "PARIS CORRESPONDENT" THAT RUMOR IN FRENCH COMMERCIAL CIRCLES IS THAT FRANCE WOULD STOP SUPPLYING ARMS TO REBELS IF FMG WOULD GIVE "FRENCH OIL COMPANY CERTAIN CONCESSIONS IN NIGERIA." BOTH PAPERS CALL THIS FRENCH ATTEMPT TO "BLACKMAIL" NIGERIA.

5. POST EDITORIAL TITLED "GIVING DEVIL HIS DUE" OPINES THAT "ICRC IS DOING ITS BEST AND SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED." STATES THAT NO MATTER HOW GOOD ANY FOREIGNER IS, "HE IS BOUND TO WITHDRAW SOME DAY. LET US BE PATIENT AND ALLOW ICRC TO PERFORM ITS NOBLE TASK WELL, BEARING IN MIND, OF COURSE, THAT IT IS SHORT-LIVED ROLE." ADMITS ICRC HAS MANY NIGERIANS IN ITS ORGANIZATION AND THEY ARE TO BE EXPECTED TO BE ABLE TO TAKE OVER SOME TIME SOON. POINTS OUT THAT OBSERVERS WERE AT FIRST GREETED WITH MISGIVINGS BUT THEIR REPORTS HAVE HAD GREAT IMPACT. ENDS ON NOTE THAT "WHO KNOWS, ICRC MAY PROVE GREAT BENEFACTOR TO NIGERIA IN THE END. MEANWHILE, LET OUR PEOPLE TRY TO GIVE DEVIL HIS DUE, EVEN THOUGH AFTER ALL SAID AND DONE HE MAY STILL BE DEVIL." MATHEWS

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 640

PAGE 01 LAGOS 15311 141502Z

43
ACTION SS 70

INFO CCO 00,SSO 00,NSCE 00,DODE 00,CIAE 00,USIE 00,1070 W
061894

O R 141300Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3995
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN

S E C R E T LAGOS 15311

LIMDIS NOFORN

REF: LAGOS 15227

SUBJ: SHEPHERD VISIT TO LAGOS

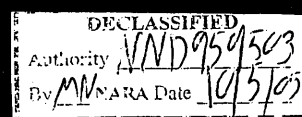
1. WE HAVE JUST RECEIVED FOLLOWING TELEGRAM OF DEC 13 ON ABOVE
SUBJECT FROM UKHICOM:

"FURTHER MEETING WITH GOWON THIS EVENING LASTED TWO AND HALF HOURS.
GOWON, WHO WAS ACCOMPANIED BY ARIKPO AND FIVE OFFICIALS, EXPRESSED
GRATITUDE FOR THE ASSURANCES OF HMG'S SUPPORT FOR ONE NIGERIA AND
EMPHASISED VALUE OF FRANK DISCUSSION. HE DEALT WITH FOLLOWING
POINTS RAISED BY LORD SHEPHERD ON 11TH DECEMBER, FROM A WRITTEN
BRIEF:

(A) CEASEFIRE. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S POSITION ON SAFEGUARDING IBOS
WAS WELL KNOWN AND HAD BEEN REPEATED IN GOWON'S ZARIA SPEECH. THEY
WOULD FULFILL THEIR PROMISES TO THE LETTER BUT THESE ARRANGEMENTS
MUST BE WITHIN FRAMEWORK OF A SOVEREIGN UNITED NIGERIA AND THERE
COULD BE NO SEPARATE SELF DETERMINATION FOR THE REBELS ALONE.
IT WAS OUT OF THE QUESTION TO DECLARE A CEASEFIRE TO ALLOW RELIEF
TO REACH THE REBELS, WHO ON PAST EXPERIENCE WOULD USE IT TO
REGROUP AND REINFORCE AND WOULD NEVER HONOUR ANY AGREEMENT. NO
CHRISTMAS TRUCE COULD ACHIEVE MIRACLES AND LAST YEAR THE REBELS
HAD ATTACKED AT CHRISTMAS TIME. BUT THE FMG INTENDED TO OBSERVE

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24

0705





Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 02 LAGOS 15311 141502Z

A DE FACTO TRUCE ON DECEMBER 23 AND 24 TO ENABLE TROOPS TO TAKE PART IN PRAYERS--THEY WOULD HOWEVER HIT BACK IF THEY WERE ATTACKED. FMG WERE NOT AGAINST A CEASEFIRE AND WOULD ORDER ONE WHEN THE TIME WAS RIPE, BUT WOULD NOT DO SO MERELY TO ENABLE OJUKWU TO STRENGTHEN HIS POSITION.

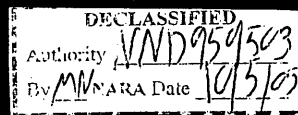
(B) RELIEF. NO AIR LIFT, WHATEVER ITS SCALE, COULD RESOLVE THE PROBLEM. FMG HAD ALWAYS ADVOCATED OPENING OF LAND ROUTES AND HAD ACCEPTED THE DETAILED PROPOSALS OF THE OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE. REBELS HAD HOWEVER EVADED THE ISSUE BY FLIMSY EXCUSES. IF REBELS REALLY NEEDED FOOD THEY SHOULD STOP PLAYING POLITICS WITH STARVATION. THE OAU HAD PROPOSED CIVILIAN OBSERVERS TO SUPERVISE THE LAND RELIEF ROUTES, WHICH SHOULD BE QUITE ADEQUATE IF THE REBELS WERE HONEST. A MILITARY FORCE FOR THIS PURPOSE WAS UNNECESSARY AND HE WOULD NOT BE HAPPY ABOUT THE PRESENCE OF FOREIGN MILITARY CONTINGENTS IN THOSE AREAS. IT WAS ONLY WHEN THE REBELS WERE DOING BADLY THAT PEOPLE MADE A FUSS ABOUT RELIEF--WHEN THEY APPEARED TO HAVE THE ADVANTAGE (AS A FEW WEEKS AGO) OXFAM, CARITAS AND EVEN THE BRITISH SAID NOTHING ABOUT STARVATION. WHILE HE WAS ALWAYS ANXIOUS TO RELIEVE SUFFERING, THE ANSWER WAS TO GIVE THE FMG THE MEANS TO FINISH THE JOB AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE RATHER THAN TO EXPECT THEM TO ABANDON THEIR BASIC WAR AIMS. OJUKWU HAD MADE IT CLEAR THAT HE WAS NOT INTERESTED IN PEACE TALKS AT THIS STAGE.

(C) MILITARY SITUATION. HE WAS SKEPTICAL ABOUT THIS TURNING OUT A PROLONGED WAR. ONLY 4,000 SQUARE MILES OF REBEL TERRITORY NOW REMAINED AND THEY WERE DETERMINED TO END SECESSION HOWEVER LONG AND COSTLY THE CAMPAIGN. IF OJUKWU SUCCEEDED AND THE COUNTRY WAS ALLOWED TO BREAK UP EVEN GREATER SUFFERING WOULD FOLLOW. THE FRENCH AND OTHERS WERE SUPPLYING ARMS TO THE REBELS ON A MASSIVE SCALE. HE WAS GRATEFUL FOR FMG'S HELP BUT WISHES IT COULD COME MORE QUICKLY. SUBSTANTIAL ARMS SUPPLIES WERE NEEDED TO DEAL WITH THE THREAT. THEY WOULD PREFER TO GET THEM FROM BRITAIN BUT IF THIS WAS IMPOSSIBLE THEY MUST LOOK ELSEWHERE.

(D) MINISTERIAL CONTACT WITH OJUKWU. IT WAS FMG'S RESPONSIBILITY TO DECIDE ON MINISTERIAL CONTACTS WITH OJUKWU AND FMG COULD NOT DICTATE TO THEM, BUT HE MUST ADVISE AGAINST A MINISTER GOING TO REBEL HEADQUARTERS. OJUKWU WOULD EXPLOIT SUCH A VISIT (AND ANY REQUEST TO FMG TO SUSPEND MILITARY ACTION AGAINST AIRCRAFT AT THE TIME) AND USE IT TO RAISE REBEL MORALE. BOTH SIDES WOULD ASSUME THAT A CHANGE IN BRITISH POLICY WAS IMMINENT. HAVING ADVISED AGAINST A SIMILAR OAU MISSION, HE COULD SCARCELY GIVE DIFFERENT ADVICE TO A BRITISH MINISTER. THIS WOULD BE MISUNDERSTOOD BY THE OAU WHO WERE SUPPORTING NIGERIA AND WHO, AS BRITAIN HAD RECOGNISED,

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

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WERE PRIMARILY CONCERNED.

(E) IVORY COAST INITIATIVE. THIS WAS JUST CLEVER TACTICS AND NOT THE RESULT OF ANY CHANGE OF HEART. THE IVORY COAST WERE EVEN MORE COMMITTED TO THE REBEL CAUSE THAN FRANCE--THE OBJECT OF BOTH WAS TO EMBROIL THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT. DEBRE HAD MADE THE FRENCH STAND VERY CLEAR.

2. IN REPLYING, LORD SHEPHERD REITERATED BRITAIN'S SUPPORT FOR THE FMG AND NIGERIAN UNITY AND DESIRE NOT TO CUT ACROSS OAU EFFORTS, BY DRAWING ON MINISTERIAL STATEMENTS IN YESTERDAY'S DEBATE. HE THEN SPOKE IN DETAIL AS INSTRUCTED IN YOUR TELNO 1988 AND EXPRESSED THE HOPE THAT FMG WOULD RECONSIDER THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARDS A VISIT BY THE PRIME MINISTER. HE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF GETTING A LAND RELIEF ROUTE OPENED AND URGED GREATER PUBLICITY FOR THE FEDERAL WILLINGNESS TO AGREE TO THIS AND FOR OJUKWU'S REFUSAL.

3. ON A MINISTERIAL MEETING WITH OJUKWU, HE SUGGESTED THAT ALTHOUGH DEBRE'S SPEECH WAS UNHELPFUL THERE WERE SOME INDICATIONS THAT THE FRENCH MIGHT BE RECONSIDERING THEIR POSITION AND THERE MIGHT BY MERIT IN EXPLORING THE IVORY COAST APPROACH. IF THIS WERE DONE HE UNDERSTOOD TO KEEP THE FMG AND THE OAU FULLY INFORMED.

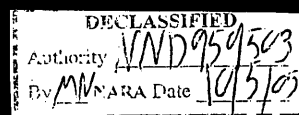
4. THERE WAS CONSIDERABLE DISCUSSION OF THE APPARENT FEDERAL IMPRESSION THAT BRITISH ARMS DELIVERIES WERE SLOW, WHICH LORD SHEPHERD AND I VIGOROUSLY REBUTTED. GOWON ACKNOWLEDGED THE RECENT STEPPING UP IN BRITISH ARMS SUPPLIES, BUT SAID THAT BY COMPARISON WITH WHAT WAS BEING DONE FOR THE REBELS THESE RECEIVED NO PUBLICITY AND THEREFORE HAD LITTLE LOCAL IMPACT. PUBLIC OPINION MATTERED IN NIGERIA, AS IN BRITAIN.

5. CONCLUDING, GOWON REFERRED TO POSSIBILITY OF VISIT BY PRIME MINISTER (ON WHICH I HAVE TELEGRAPHED SEPARATELY), EXPLAINING THAT HE HAD NOT ALLUDED TO THIS EARLIER, SINCE IT HAD BEEN PUT TO HIM ON A CONFIDENTIAL BASIS. HE HOPED HE HAD NOT GIVEN FALSE IMPRESSION THAT FMG WERE UNGRATEFUL OR UNFAIR; IT WAS BEST TO BE FRANK. ATMOSPHERE WAS INDEED CORDIAL THROUGHOUT, AND OFFICIALS ARE TO DRAFT A COMMUNIQUE FOR APPROVAL TOWARDS END OF VISIT. PURPOSE OF THIS IS TO RESTATE, IN MOST PRESENTABLE AND USABLE FORM, THE PUBLIC ATTITUDES WHICH FMG HAVE ALREADY TAKEN ON LAND ROUTES FOR RELIEF, DAYLIGHT AIRLIFT AND POST WAR SAFEGUARDS FOR IBOS."

COMMENT: WE UNDERSTAND FROM BRITISH THAT THEY DO NOT BELIEVE FURTHER

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DISCUSSIONS WITH FMG WOULD BE PROFITABLE. THEY ARE APPARENTLY SATISFIED THAT MAIN OBJECTIVE OF VISIT (MAINTAINING RELATIONSHIP WITH FMG) HAS BEEN ACHIEVED BUT ARE CONCERNED THAT IF MATTERS LEFT AS THEY NOW STAND IT MIGHT APPEAR THAT SHEPHERD'S VISIT TO LAGOS AND FOLEY'S TO ADDIS WERE SOLELY TO RELIEVE PRESSURE DURING FOREIGN AFFAIRS DEBATE. UKHICOM THUS BELIEVE THAT BRITISH-FRENCH TALKS SCHED FOR NEXT WEEK SHOULD BE FOLLOWED UP AND PERHAPS COUPLED WITH BRITISH MINISTERIAL VISIT TO IVORY COAST. WE GATHER THAT THEY ARE CONVINCED THAT RECENT IVORY COAST APPROACH TO UK WAS FRENCH INSPIRED.

GP-1. MATHEWS

SECRET

0708

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MW NARA Date 10/5/05

L I M D I S
I N C O M I N G

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Screeners *JMS*

POST LAGOS

(Time Received)

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DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT 253

Secretariat

S/S-S 1
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MilRep ✓
Summary ✓
Task Force ✓

Geographic

AF5 X 5
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 10 ✓ 10
NEA 8

Other

ACDA 5
AID/EXSEC 3
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AA/EA 3
AA/NESA 2

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Principals

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DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 959/503
By MMNARA Date 10/5/03

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

35 SECRET/NOFORN
Classification

FOR OC/T USE ONLY

13 DEC 68 01 08z

Origin
Info

ACTION: AMEMBASSY, LAGOS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY, LONDON

INFO: AMEMBASSY, ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY, PARIS

STATE

LIMDIS

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~

REF: LAGOS 15226, 15227, DEPTTEL 285989 to LAGOS

SUBJECT: British Initiatives on Nigeria

1. British Embassy Counselor Wilford brought Dept. up to date on Lord Shepherd's meeting with Gowon. ^{Supplementing} ~~XXXXXXXXXXXX~~ _{Supplementary} info contained in reftels, Wilford informed us of following instructions given Shepherd for his meeting: (a) Assure Gowon that UK initiative does not imply change in British policy or attempt take Nigerian problem out of African hands; (b) inform Gowon of Foley mission to Addis; (c) encourage FMG to renew proposal for land corridor to Biafra, protected or supervised by OAU or possibly international observers; (d) explain purpose of possible Foley meeting with Ojukwu and attempt determine, in event Ojukwu agrees to meeting, how much flexibility

Drafted by: AF:X/W:ALogan/CRM Moore-AF *clm* 6355
Classification approved by: AF - Ambassador Moore *clm*

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FORM DS-322
8-65

0710

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Authority: *VND 954563*
By: *MN* Date: *10/5/92*

Page 2 of telegram to AMEMBASSY, LAGOS - PRIORITY

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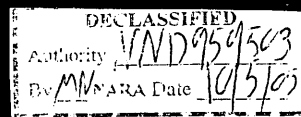
there might be in FMG position re status of Ibos. Assure FMG that any discussion with Ojukwu will be only on basis of Nigerian unity; (e) get FMG reaction to UK proposal for truce or ceasefire for Christmas/Ramadan period; (f) inform Gowon that although HMG holding firmly to its policy on Nigeria it is under great pressure to agree to international arms embargo. As result this pressure, Primin Wilson is prepared to state in course of December 12 debate that if Gowon and Ojukwu agree to meet and agree on a ceasefire, UK would work for a properly policed embargo on all arms shipments; (g) indicate UK support of possible Gowon-Ojukwu meeting in Dakar, Accra or Ascension Islands; (k) in general, emphasize need for FMG adopt as ~~xxx~~ reasonable public posture as possible in order to claim benefits if all goes well and in order clearly cast blame on Ojukwu if things go badly.

2. Wilford stated he had only ^{received}~~received~~ one telegram on results of meeting of Shepherd's meeting with Gowon Dec. 11. (Hicomer Hunt and Dennis Greenhill also present). Message ~~XXXXXXXX~~ emphasized that Gowon had not made response to various points ~~XXXXXXXX~~ advanced by Shepherd but had said that he would take proposals under study and respond on Dec. 13. Wilford observed that telegram appeared somewhat ~~XXXXXXXX~~ optimistic when it interpreted Gowon's non-committal attitude

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FORM DS-322A
8-63
CONTINUATION SHEET

0711



Page 3 of telegram to AMEMBASSY, LAGOS PRIORITY

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X on Wilson's proposed statement in Commons on arms embargo as acquiescence. Re Christmas/Ramadan ceasefire, telegram noted that this would also apply to airlift (presumably only of arms thereby permitting relief airlift to continue), ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ and that Gowon showed some ~~XXXX~~ signs of interest. Telegram also reported that Gowon was QTE awestruck UNQTE when informed of remote possibility that Primin Wilson might visit Gowon.

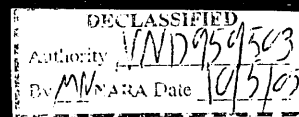
3. Wilford also reported on meeting in London between Biafran rep Kogbara and John Wilson of Fonoff. Wilson informed Kogbara of purpose of Shepherd's trip to Lagos and hope for a meeting between Foley and ~~XXXX~~ Ojukwu. Kogbara speculated that British initiative could be only a ploy to remove pressure in anticipation Dec. 12 parliamentary debate and stated that to be successful there must be change in British policy toward Nigeria. Wilson assured him that there was no change in policy but hoped that Ojukwu would meet with Foley possibly in Accra, Dakar or Ascension to see if formula could be found to get negotiations with FMG started. Kogbara gave no encouragement but said he would pass message along. He also raised questions ~~XXXX~~ of whether Ojukwu would agree to meet with QTE junior UNQTE minister.

4. We informed Wilford of recent instructions to Embassy Lagos, ^{Deptel} 285989, to develop, in collaboration with British and Canadian military

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8-63
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0712



Page 4 of telegram to AMEMBASSY, LAGOS

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representatives a comprehensive plan for land corridor to Biafra which both Biafrans and FMG might find hard to reject.

XX

END.

RUSK

FORM DS-322A
8-63
CONTINUATION SHEET

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0713

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Authority VND 959/503
By MNARA Date 10/5/00



POL 27-14 BIAFRA NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 451

PAGE 01 LAGOS 15278 140959Z

12
ACTION SS 70

INFO CIAE 00,CCO 00,SSO 00,NSCE 00,DODE 00,USIE 00,1070 W
060786

P 131645Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3974
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

S E C R E T LAGOS 15278

LIMDIS

SUBJ: NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR: PEACE INITIATIVES

1. I ASKED ARIKPO THIS MORNING FOR HIS VIEWS ON PROSPECTS FOR CURRENT PEACE INITIATIVES. HE REPLIED THAT FMG HAD BEEN THOROUGHLY PESSIMISTIC BEFORE INITIATIVES LAUNCHED AND REBEL REACTION HAD PROVED FMG RIGHT. HE SAW NO PROSPECT THAT REBELS WOULD BE WILLING NEGOTIATE ON BASIS ONE NIGERIA UNTIL FMG INCREASED MILITARY PRESSURE WHICH HE INTIMATED WOULD SOON OCCUR.

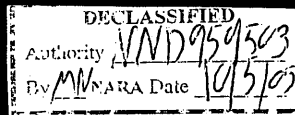
2. RE HMG INITIATIVE ARIKPO SAID IF HMG WANTED TO ESTABLISH CONTACT WITH OJUKWU THAT WAS DECISION FOR HMG TO MAKE. FMG DID NOT BELIEVE SUCH CONTACT WOULD SERVE ANY USEFUL PURPOSE NOW. ARIKPO SPOKE MORE IN SORROW THAN IN ANGER OF ALLEGED SHIFT IN HMG ATTITUDE TOWARD NIGERIAN WAR AS REFLECTED IN PRESS STORIES BASED ON BACKGROUND INFORMATION PROVIDED BY FOLEY. WHEN I SUGGESTED PRESS STORIES HAD BEEN EXAGGERATED, ARIKPO RESPONDED THAT HE HAD RECEIVED FROM PRESS SOURCE DIRECT QUOTES OF FOLEY'S REMARKS WHICH FULLY SUPPORTED PRESS STORIES. ARIKPO REMARKED THAT IT HAD BEEN SUGGESTED THAT UKPM WILSON MIGHT VISIT ADDIS AND LAGOS. FMG DOUBTED THAT THIS WOULD BRING PEACE ANY NEARER.

3. RE OAU ARIKPO SAID EMPEROR HAD SUGGESTED THAT SINCE OTHER ATTEMPTS TO COMMUNICATE WITH OJUKWU HAD ELICITED NO USEFUL

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RESPONSE, CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION MIGHT SEND EMISSARIES TO SEE OJUKWU. FMGHAD RESPONDED BY INQUIRING WHETHER THIS PROPOSAL HAD BEEN ENDORSED BY ALL HEADS OF STATE ON COMMISSION. ARIKPO SAID WITH STRAIGHT FACE FMG DID NOT WANT TO FEND ANY HEAD OF STATE BY ACCEPTING SUGGESTION WHICH MIGHT NOT HAVE BEEN CLEARED WITH ALL MEMBERS OF COMMISSION.

4. RE CS, ARIKPO COMMENTED THAT HE HAD HEARD ARNOLD SMITH SOMEWHAT MIFFED BY UK INITIATIVE AND THAT SMITH ALSO CONSIDERING APPROACH TO OJUKWU.

5. I ASKED ARIKPO WHETHER HE THOUGHT OJUKWU WOULD BE MORE RECEPTIVE TO NEGOTIATIONS IF FRENCH ATTITUDE TOWARD REBELS WERE TO CHANGE AND WHETHER HE HAD DETECTED ANY POSSIBILITY OF SUCH CHANGE. ARIKPO REPLIED THAT WITHDRAWAL OF FRENCH SUPPORT WOULD CERTAINLY MAKE OJUKWU MORE REASONABLE AND THAT HE THOUGHT FRENCH MIGHT BE HAVING SECOND THOUGHTS. HE HAD HAD AMICABLE TALK WITH FRENCH AMBASSADOR SINCE LATTER'S RETURN TO LAGOS, AND AMBASSADOR HAD ASSURED HIM OF FRENCH GOOD WILL TOWARD NIGERIA. (THIS CONFIRMED VERSION OF MEETING WHICH FRENCH AMBASSADOR HAD GIVEN

ME. AMBASSADOR EXPRESSED SURPRISE THAT ARIKPO HAD NOT TAXED HIM WITH ALLEGED FRENCH MISDEEDS.) WHEN I INQUIRED WHETHER GOWON WOULD SEE AMBASSADOR, ARIKPO SAID FMG WOULD TAKE NO INITIATIVE BUT GOWON HAD INSTRUCTED HIM

TO ARRANGE MEETING IF REQUESTED BY AMBASSADOR.

6. I TOLD ARIKPO THAT IT WOULD BE USEFUL IF FMG WOULD IN NEAR FUTURE RESTATE ITS WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE WITH REBELS AT ANY TIME WITHIN FRAMEWORK ONE NIGERIA AND ASSURANCES OF SECURITY FOR IBOS. ARIKPO AGREED BUT INDICATED HE THOUGHT BEST TIME FOR SUCH RESTATEMENT WOULD BE AFTER FMG MILITARY PRESSURE ON REBELS INCREASED.

7. ARIKPO'S ATTITUDE THROUGHOUT THIS DISCUSSION CAN BEST BE DESCRIBED AS RESIGNED AND WEARY. HE RECOGNIZES THAT FAILURE OF FMG TO MAINTAIN MOMENTUM OF MILITARY ADVANCE AGAINST REBELS HAS RAISED DOUBTS AS TO FMG ABILITY TO DEFEAT REBELS. HE HIMSELF SEEMS TO BELIEVE FMG WILL PREVAIL, BUT IS AWARE THAT DURATION OF FIGHTING MAY

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By	MMNARA Date 10/5/03



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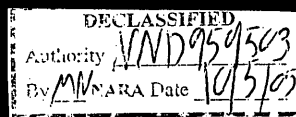
PAGE 03 LAGOS 15278 140959Z

DEPEND MORE ON DECISIONS TAKEN IN PARIS THAN ON ANYTHING
FMG ITSELF CAN DO. IN THIS SITUATION, HE APPARENTLY
ACCEPTS AS INEVITABLE FOREIGN PRESSURES TO BRING WAR TO AN
END AND CONSIDERS THAT FMG MUST COPE WITH THESE AS BEST
IT CAN WHILE READYING ITSELF FOR INCREASED MILITARY ACTION.
GP-2 MAOVES

SECRET

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L I M D I S
I N C O M I N G

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Screeners *JKS*

POST *Lagos*

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SERIAL *15278*

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MONTHLY COUNT *252*

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S/S-O *1*
S/S-Screener *3*
S/S-EX
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S/S-O DIR *✓*
MilRep
Summary *✓*
Task Force

Principals

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U *✓*
M *2*
G *✓*
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SIG *✓*
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Geographic

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EA 11
EUR 10
NEA 8

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CU
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OTHER AGENCIES

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CIA *✓*
DOD *✓*
USIA 4
NSA

Other

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By *MW* NARA Date *10/5/03*

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State TELEGRAM

SECRET 346

PAGE 01 LAGOS 15226 121712Z

41
ACTION SS 70

INFO CCO 00, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CIAE 00, /070 W

049297

O P 121605Z DEC. 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3948
AMEMBASSY LONDON
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMCONSUL IBADAN
AMCONSUL KADUNA

S E C R E T LAGOS 15226

LIMDIS/NOFORN

1. AFTER TWO POSTPONEMENTS LORD SHEPHERD SAW GOWON EVENING DECEMBER 11. ALSO PRESENT WERE HICOMER HUNT, AWOLOWO, BABA GANA (PERMSEC EXTAFF), AYIDA, AND EJUEYITCHIE (CABINET OFFICE). LORD SHEPHERD MADE HIS PLANNED PITCH, I.E. (A) REASSURANCE TO FMG NO POLICY CHANGE CONTEMPLATED BYHMG. (B) RECOGNITION OF OAU AS BEING PRIMARY VEHICLE FOR NEGOTIATIONS. (C) PRECARIOUS POSITION OF HMG AT MOMENT OVER DEVELOPING FAMINE SITUATION ARMS SUPPLY QUESTION ETC. THEREFORE NEED TO BE SEEN AS EARNEST IN SEARCH FOR PEACE. LORD SHEPHERD PLANNED TO DISCUSS WITH GOWON THE FOLLOWING: THE IDEA OF A SENIOR BRITISH OFFICIAL MEETING WITH OJUKWU; THE REASON FOR FOLEY'S VISIT TO ADDIS; INFLUENCE FMG REAFFIRM PUBLICLY ITS WILLINGNESS TO OPEN A LAND CORRIDOR FOR RELIEF; AND IN PARTICULAR EXPLORE ARGUMENTS HMG CAN BEST USE TO HOLD OFF THE PARLIAMENTARY OPPOSITION ON DEMANDS FOR CEASE FIRE AND ARMS EMBARGO.

2. ACCORDING TO DEP UK HICOMER WHO NOT PRESENT AT TALKS, ATMOSPHERE WAS FRIENDLY. GOWON (AND GROUP) LISTENED POLITELY AND THEN INFORMED LORD SHEPHERD HE WOULD HAVE TO CONSULT WITH HIS ADVISORS AND WOULD SEE HIM AGAIN ON FRIDAY DECEMBER 13, WHEN HE WOULD PRESENT FMG'S VIEWS ON ISSUES RAISED.

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0718

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By MVA Date 10/5/05

15226
12-12-68



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 02 LAGOS 15226 121712Z

COMMENT: THIS HARDLY A SATISFACTORY RESULT FROM UK POINT OF VIEW WHAT WITH FOREIGN POLICY DEBATE TAKING PLACE TODAY THURSDAY LEAVING NOTHING FOR LORD SHEPHERD TO REPORT WHICH MIGHT BE USEFUL TO THE DEBATE OTHER THAN THE OPTICS OF FACT LORD SHEPHERD HIMSELF IMMERSSED IN DISCUSSIONS IN LAGOS. IN EMBASSY'S VIEW OUTLOOK FOR PROGRESS IN NEGOTIATIONS ANYTHING BUT PROMISING GIVEN FACT THAT FMG AWARE ARNOLD SMITH'S LATEST ACTIVITIES, NEW OAU INITIATIVE, AND HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY'S (AND FRENCH) MANEUVERINGS. LIKELY RESULT ON FMG SIDE IS HARDENING OF ATTITUDE TOWARD ANY SORT OF COMPROMISE AND INSENSIFICATION FEELING AGAINST FOREIGN INTERFERENCE AND ACCELERATION OF DRIFT INTO XENOPHOBIA.

GP-W.
MATHEWS

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0719

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MW NARA Date 10/5/05

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I N C O M I N G

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Secretariat

Geographic

Other

S/S-S 1
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S/S-Screener 3
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MilRep
Summary
Task Force

AF5 5
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 10
NEA 8 10

ACDA 5
AID/EXSEC 3
AA/AFR 2
AA/VN 2
AA/EA 3
AA/NESA 2

Functional

Principals

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 333

PAGE 01 LAGOS 15227 121659Z

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ACTION SS 70

INFO CIAE 00,SSO 00,NSCE 00,CCO 00,USIE 00,DODE 00,070 W
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O R 121635Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3949
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

S E C R E T LAGOS 15227

LIMDIS/NOFORN

SUBJECT: WILSON PROPOSAL TO FMG

REF: LAGOS 15226

1. UKHICOM INFORMS US THAT NEW PROPOSAL FROM WILSON
CAME IN AFTER SHEPHERD SAW GOWON YESTERDAY.

2. PROPOSAL WAS THAT FOLEY WOULD ATTEMPT TO SEE OJUKWU
AND WILSON HIMSELF WOULD COME TO LAGOS TO SEE GOWON.

3. AS WE UNDERSTAND IT (WE HAVE NOT YET HAD FULL RUNDOWN
FROM BRITISH, WHO ARE THOROUGHLY TIED UP WITH VISITORS),
THIS LATEST IDEA WAS COMMUNICATED TO GOWON THIS MORNING
AND WAS PROMPTLY TURNED DOWN ON THE GROUNDS THAT OJUKWU
COMPLETELY INTRANSIGENT. COMMENT: FBIS TODAY CARRIES
SEVERAL AFP STORIES (BIAFRAN RADIO CURRENTLY UNRECEIVABLE)
INDICATING BIAFRA WILL NOT PARTICIPATE IN ANY FURTHER
NEGOTIATIONS EXCEPT AS QTE SOVEREIGN INDEPENDENT STATE UNQTE.
ON FMG SIDE CHIEF ANTHONY ENAHORO ARRIVING FROM CANADA
YESTERDAY IS QUOTED AS SAYING AT AIRPORT THAT THERE WAS
NO HOPE FOR RENEWED PEACE TALKS.

4. IMPRESSION GIVEN US BY ONE MEMBER UKHICOM IS THAT
THERE IS SERIOUS CONCERN THAT NIGERIAN QUESTION COULD
BRING GOVERNMENT DOWN. WE ASSUME THIS COMES FROM SHEPHERD)
AND THAT WILSON IS SO DESPERATELY ANXIOUS TO COME UP
WITH SOMETHING THAT HE MAY STILL PRESENT TO PARLIAMENT RECORD
HIS EFFORTS IN HOPES FORESTALLING CENSURE.

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5. WE HOPE TO OBTAIN FULL STORY LATER. IN MEANTIME SUGGEST
ADDRESSEES BETRAY NO KNOWLEDGE OF ABOVE.
GP-1.
MATHEWS

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Functional

Principals

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SECRET 222

PAGE 01 LAGOS 15081 061728Z

41
ACTION SS 30

INFO CCO 00,SSO 00,NSCE 00,1030 W

O 061645Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3863

S E C R E T LAGOS 15081

EXDIS/NOFORN OTHER THAN U.K.

DEPARTMENT PASS LONDON

REF: STATE 282954 REPEATING LONDON'S 14898

1. UK HICOMER HUNT MET WITH GOWON THIS MORNING TO TEST FMG ATTITUDE TOWARD BRITISH PROPOSALS IN REFTEL. WHEN HUNT MENTIONED ROLE OF HOUPHOUET, GOWON WENT INTO A DIATRIBE AGAINST HOUPHOUET WHO HE SAID WAS OUT TO DESTROY NIGERIA. GOWON SAID HE CANNOT TRUST MOTIVES OF HOUPHOUET AND THAT IF LATTER PARTICIPATES IN ANY ARRANGEMENTS FOR NEGOTIATIONS HE WILL ENSURE FMG'S POSITION WILL BE MISREPRESENTED. GOWON THEN CONTINUED THAT "HE COULD TRUST HMG BUT NOT BBC". (IT TURNED OUT THIS SALLY AGAINST BBC WAS PROMPTED BY FACT BBC IN REPORTING KATZENBACH SPEECH HAD LEFT OUT PARTS FAVORABLE TO FMG.) GOWON THEN WENT ON TO SAY THAT IF HMG THINKS THE PROPOSED INITIATIVE IS VITAL (FOR DOMESTIC POLITICAL REASONS) HE WOULD RELUCTANTLY ACQUIESCE. HE ADDED THAT HE FULLY AGREED TO THE IDEA OF SETTLEMENT BY NEGOTIATION BUT ONLY ON THE BASIS OF ONE NIGERIA. IF OJUKWU AGREES TO THIS HE CAN HAVE A CEASEFIRE TOMORROW, AND IF HE MAKES A SINCERE OFFER, NEGOTIATIONS CAN BEGIN AT ONCE.

2. HICOMER COMMENTED HE WOULD BE RECOMMENDING TO LONDON THAT ABIDJAN NOT RPT NOT BE CONSIDERED AS A POSSIBLE VENUE IN LIGHT GOWON'S STRONG FEELINGS AGAINST HOUPHOUET.

3. EMBASSY COMMENT: IF REPORTS OF FOLEY BACKGROUNDER (STATE 282734) PICKED UP BY MEDIA HERE, IT COULD SET OFF

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 15081 061728Z

OUTBURST OF POPULAR RESENTMENT THAT WOULD MAKE IT VERY
DIFFICULT FOR FMG TO GO ALONG WITH BRITISH INITIATIVE.
SITUATION IS FURTHER COMPLICATED BY RESURGENCE OAU
ACTIVITY REPORTED ADDIS 6838. IF FMG GETS IDEA IT BEING
SUBJECTED CONCERTED PRESSURE, BOTH PEACE INITIATIVES MAY
BE THWARTED.

GP-1. MATHEWS

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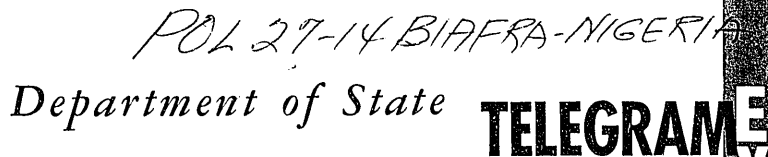
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PAGE 01 LONDON 14898 051929Z

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ACTION SS 30

INFO /030 W

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P 051725Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7613

S E C R E T L O N D O N 14898

EXDIS/NOFORN

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN CRISIS: BRITISH CONSIDER NEW PEACE INITIATIVE

REF: STATE'S 282243

1. YESTERDAY AFTERNOON (DEC 4) BEFORE RECEIPT REFTEL, WE WERE INVITED BY FONOFF'S PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECTY, MAURICE FOLEY, TO DISCUSS NEW INITIATIVES TO END NIGERIAN CONFLICT BEING ACTIVELY CONSIDERED BY BRITISH. SIR LESLIE MONSON (DEPUTY UNDER SECTY) AND DONALD TEBBIT (ASST UNDER SECTY) WERE ALSO PRESENT. IN COURSE OF CONVERSATION, WHICH COVERED MAIN POINTS OF INTEREST TO DEPT, WE PROVIDED FOLEY, MONSON AND TEBBIT WITH COPIES OF UNDER SECTY'S BROWN UNIVERSITY SPEECH.

2. FOLEY SAID GOVT WAS AGAIN BEGINNING TO FEEL STING OF PARLIAMENTARY CRITICISM OR ARMS-SUPPLY POLICY. OPPOSITION LEADERS WERE CALLING FOR NEW BRITISH INITIATIVES TO END FIGHTING (LONDON'S 14830) AND BACKBENCH HECKLING WAS INCREASING FROM BOTH SIDES OF HOUSE. SOME MEMBERS WERE CALLING FOR FULL-SCALE DEBATE BEFORE CHRISTMAS. AT SAME TIME, CHANCE THAT FMG WOULD ACHIEVE DECISIVE MILITARY VICTORY OVER BIAFRANS IN NEAR FUTURE LOOKED MORE AND MORE REMOTE. PLANS FOR "FINAL PUSH" WERE UNDER DISCUSSION IN LAGOS, AND NIGERIAN MILITARY COMMANDERS TALKED BRAVELY ABOUT GAINING CONTROL OF ULI AIRFIELD IN NEXT FMG OFFENSIVE, BUT BRITS WERE SKEPTICAL. AS TEBBIT TOLD US LAST MONTH (LONDON'S 17432) HMG WAS BEING AS FORTHCOMING AS POSSIBLE IN MEETING NIGERIAN REQUESTS FOR AMMO AND WEAPONS REPLACEMENTS. BRITISH NEVERTHELESS SAW NO PROSPECT FOR EARLY END TO HOSTILITIES AS LONG AS ESSENTIAL MILITARY SUPPLIES FLOWED TO BIAFRANS.

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3. FOR ALL THESE REASONS PRIMIN BELIEVED GOVT SHOULD DISPLAY CONSPICUOUS ZEAL IN SEARCH FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. BRITISH HAD DONE GREAT DEAL TO ENCOURAGE FMG TO ADOPT FLEXIBLE STANCE, AND BEHIND SCENES HAD PROMOTED NUMEROUS INITIATIVES TO BRING TWO SIDES TOGETHER. ONLY THING THEY HAD NOT YET DONE WAS TALK TO OJUKWU AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL AND TRY PERSUADE HIM TO NEGOTIATE IN GOOD FAITH. IT WAS THIS IDEA THAT WAS PRESENTLY BEING ACTIVELY CONSIDERED BY BRITISH GOVT.

4. BEFORE COMMITTING THEMSELVES TO MEETING WITH OJUKWU, BRITISH WANTED, IF POSSIBLE, TO DISARM FMG OBJECTIONS AND TO LAY PRELIMINARY GROUNDWORK WITH BIAFRANS. IN FURTHERANCE OF LATTER, BRITISH WERE EMPLOYING TWO CHANNELS TO OJUKWU. ONE WAS THROUGH BISHOP OF PORT HARCOURT WHO HAD ASSURED THEM OJUKWU WOULD BE GLAD TO MEET BRITISH MINISTER, BUT ONLY IN BIAFRA. SECOND CHANNEL, WHICH FONOFF THOUGHT MIGHT BE MORE RELIABLE, WAS THROUGH IVORY COAST'S UN REP AKE WHO MET WITH FOLEY, LORD SHEPHERD AND TERBIT NOV. 20 IN FOLLOW-UP TO EARLIER VISIT GOIC FONMIN USHER.

5. AKE SAID THAT ALTHOUGHT BRITAIN AND IVORY COAST SAW NIGERIAN CONFLICT IN DIFFERENT LIGHT THEY BOTH WANTED BLOOD-SHED TO CEASE AND SOVIET INFLUENCE TO SHRINK. HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY WAS THEREFORE WILLING FOR IVORY COAST TO ACT AS INTERMEDIARY TO BRING ABOUT NEGOTIATIONS. ACCORDING AKE, IVORY COAST HAD REASON TO BELIEVE OJUKWU WAS WILLING TO MEET BRITISH MINISTER. HOUPHOUET WOULD FORWARD SPECIFIC PROPOSAL TO OJUKWU BUT NEEDED TO KNOW FROM BRITISH (A) WHO WOULD PARTICIPATE FROM THEIR SIDE; (B) WHERE MEETING COULD TAKE PLACE (IVORY COAST WAS POSSIBILITY); (C) WHAT AGENDA WOULD BE; AND (D) HOW BRITS ENVISAGED COMPROMISE SETTLEMENT.

6. FOLEY TOLD AKE THAT BRITISH WANTED DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO PRODUCE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, BUT COULD NOT THEMSELVES NEGOTIATE FOR FMG. BRITS VISUALIZED TALKS PROCEEDING IN THREE STAGES: BRITISH MINISTER WOULD MEET WITH OJUKWU; HE WOULD THEN MEET WITH GOWON AND, IF ALL WENT WELL, DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN OJUKWU AND GOWON WOULD FOLLOW. AKE SAID HE WOULD REPORT BRITISH REACTION TO HOUPHOUET SO THAT IVORY COAST LEADER COULD PONDER NEXT STEPS. FOLEY EXPECTED SOME FURTHER WORD FROM AKE WITHIN NEXT FEW DAYS. HE DID NOT KNOW WHETHER CHANNEL WOULD

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BRING RESULTS, BUT THOUGHT GOIC WOULD BE UNLIKELY TO PROMOTE MEETING WITHOUT FRENCH APPROVAL AND INITIATIVE WAS THEREFORE WORTH PURSUING.

7. MEANWHILE, FONOFF WAS DRAFTING INSTRUCTIONS TO SIR DAVID HUNT TO TAKE TEMPERATURE IN LAGOS. HUNT WAS TO EXPLAIN TO GOWON ADVANTAGES HMG SAW IN BRITISH MINISTER'S MEETING OJUKWU AND TO REASSURE HIM THAT, IF MEETING MATERIALIZED, BRITISH WOULD EMPHASIZE TO OJUKWU THAT SETTLEMENT HAD TO BE WITHIN CONTEXT ONE NIGERIA. FOLEY OBSERVED THAT WHILE FMG'S VIEWS WOULD BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION, FINAL DECISION ON WHETHER BRITISH MINISTER WOULD MEET OJUKWU WAS HMG'S TO MAKE.

8. REFERRING TO VARIOUS UNOFFICIAL INITIATIVES BEING UNDERTAKEN BY MP'S AND OTHERS INTERESTED IN NIGERIAN SITUATION, FOLEY SAID LORD BROCKWAY AND JAMES GRIFFITHS (LONDON'S 14830) HAD CHECKED WITH FONOFF BEFORE GOING TO SAO TOME. THEY HAD RECEIVED BIAFRAN ASSURANCES OF TRANSPORT FROM SAO TOME AND MEETING WITH OJUKWU. IF ALL WENT AS PLANNED, THEY WOULD RETURN TO LONDON NEXT WEEK AND REPORT ON OJUKWU'S ATTITUDE. TRIP OF FORMER CW SECTY ARTHUR BOTTOMLEY TO LAGOS WAS HIS OWN IDEA AND WAS FINANCED BY UK BUSINESS FIRM WITH WHICH HE ASSOCIATED.

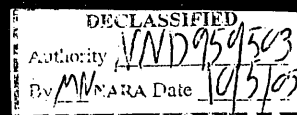
9. DEPT REPEAT OTHER POSTS AS DESIRED. BRUCE

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PRINCIPALS			GEOGRAPHIC BUREAUS		
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INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAF 00,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SR 01, AID 28, RSR 01, /144 W
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FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7781
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AMEMBASSY PARIS
USUN NEW YORK 452
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 6838 -

SUBJ: NIGERIAN PEACE INITIATIVES

REF: ADDIS 6466, 6200, 6167-6172, 6177 NOTAL

1. ENGLISH-LANGUAGE ETHIOPIAN HERALD DEC 5 FRONT-PAGED
REPORT OF DEC 4 MEETING BETWEEN HIM AND NIGERIAN ADDIS
CHARGE O.G. IJEWERE RE CURRENT SITUATION NIGERIAN CON-
FLICT, IMPLEMENTATION OAU ALGIERS RESOLUTION ON NIGERIA
AND QUESTION FURTHER INITIATIVES BY OAU NIGERIA CONCOM.
REPORT SAID DISCUSSION IN LINE WITH HIM'S MESSAGE TO GOWON
LAST MONTH PROPOSING MISSION COMPOSED OF REPRESENTATIVES
SIX MEMBERS CONCOM RE SENT LAGOS TO CONSULT WITH FMG
ON FURTHER STEPS. NEWSPAPER SAID CONCOM HEADS OF STATE
WOULD THEN BE EXPECTED MEET AFTER MISSION'S LAGOS VISIT.
REPORT SAID MEETING WITH HIM ALSO ATTENDED BY IEG PM

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AKLILOU, MINISTER OF COURT, MOFA MINSTATE TESFAYE, AND
OAU SEC GEN DIALLO TELLI.

2. GHANAIAN AMB AMONOO TOLD ME THIS MORNING HE HAD MET WITH TELLI AFTER ABOVE MEETING WITH HIM AND CONFIRMED GENERAL ACCURACY HERALD'S REPORT. AMONOO HAD TOLD ME YESTERDAY RESPONSES FROM FIVE HEADS OF STATE TO HIM'S MESSAGES LAST MONTH HAD VARIED: FAVORABLE REPLY RECEIVED FROM MOBUTU, TUBMAN HAD BEEN FAVORABLE BUT SLIGHTLY EQUIVOCAL, DIORI SENT NO REPLY, AND AHIDJO HAD RESPONDED HE THOUGH FURTHER EFFORT BY OAU CONCOM NOT GOOD IDEA AND OAU IN ANY EVENT SHOULD NOT DEAL WITH OJUKWU. GEN ANKRAH'S RESPONSE FAVORABLE BUT HE URGED MISSION BE FORMED AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL INSTEAD OF VICE MINISTERIAL OR AMBASSADORIAL LEVEL AS HIM PROPOSED.

3. TELLI TOLD AMONOO TODAY HIM HAD SENT ANOTHER MESSAGE TO GOWON THROUGH FMG DHARGE ADDIS URGING RESPONSE TO HIM'S PROPOSAL OF OAU CONCOM MISSION TO LAGOS, COWON HAD NOT RESPONDED TO EARLIER APPEALS. IF GOWON AGREED TO MEET WITH MISSION, REP OF CONCOM HEADS OF STATE WOULD MEET IN ADDIS THEN GO TO LAGOS, WITH TELLI AND TESFAYE ACCOMPANYING. ONLY POSSIBLE DISSENTER WOULD BE AHIDJO WHO OPPOSED MEETING WITH OJUKWU. AMONOO SUGGESTED MISSION COULD GO WITHOUT CAMEROONIAN OR LATTER COULD DROP OUT IF GROUP WENT TO BIAFRA.

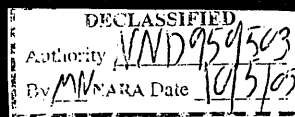
4. AMONOO TOLD ME HE WAS CABLING ANKRAH URGING HIM TO RENEW HIS SUPPORT FOR HIM'S PROPOSAL. AMONOO EXPRESSED PERSONAL VIEW WOULD BE USEFUL FOR U.S. EXPRESS CONCERN TO ALL COMMITTEE MEMBERS LACK OF OAU ACTION AND HOPE FOR INITIATIVE ALONG LINES HIM'S PROPOSAL. AMONOO SAID TELLI REPORTED HIM FEELS ISOLATED IN HIS INTEREST IN PURSUING OAU INITIATIVE AND IS RELUCTANT TO ACT UNLESS HE GETS SUPPORT OTHER FIVE HEADS OF STATE.

5. AMONOO SAID HE HAD DISCUSSED WITH TELLI AND HIM POSSIBILITY EXERTING PRESSURE THROUGH CONCOM ON FRENCH TO HALT ARMS AID TO BIAFRA. HIM SUGGESTED THAT IF GOWON RESPONSE TO PROPOSAL OF SPECIAL OAU CONCOM MISSION TO LAGOS NEGATIVE, TELLI MIGHT CALL MEETING OF ADDIS AMBASSADORS OF CONCOM NATIONS WITH TELLI AND IEG FONOFF (TESFAYE) TO

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PAGE 03 ADDIS 06838 051835Z

SEE WHAT INITIATIVES POSSIBLE. AMONOO FELT KE TO PRESSURE ON FRENCH PROBABLY IVORY COAST AND GABON; IF IVORY COAST PRESIDENT WOULD STAND AGAINST FRENCH, CHANCE ARMS AID TO BIAFRA MIGHT CEASE. ADMITTED LITTLE LIKELIHOOD OF THIS.

6. AMONOO SAID GHANAIS WOULD SUPPORT DISCUSSION NIGERIAN QUESTION IN COMMONWEALTH MEETING IN JAN IF OAU HAD NOT ACTED BY SAH. STILL HOPEFUL OAU WILL ACT, HOWEVER, IN WHICH CASE COMMONWEALTH MEETING WOULD MERELY BE ASKED TO NOTE PROBLEM. AMONOO NOTED BIAFRANS IN ANY EVENT UNLIKELY ACCEPT COMMONWEALTH ACTION OF ANY KIND.

7. RECOMMENDED ACTION: I BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR AMBASSADORS IN OTHER FIVE CONCOM CAPITALS TO APPROACH HOST GOVERNMENTS FOR IMMEDIATE AFFIRMATIVE RESPONSE TO HIM'S PROPOSAL. AMB MATTHEWS MIGHT ALSO URGE FAVORABLE RESPONSE ONGOWON IF OPPORTUNITY ARISES. VIEWED FROM THIS DISTANCE APPEARS IN FMG'S INTERESTS TO DEAL FORTHCOMINGLY WITH OAU. UNLIKELY OJUKWU WILL AGREE MEET WITH OAU GROUP, BUT IF GOWON REFUSES IT WOULD WEAKEN HIS SUPPORT AMONG OAU AFRICANS AND PROBABLY RESULT IN ADVERSE PUBLICITY AS HIM APPARENTLY PREPARED NOW TO CARRY HIS CASE TO PRESS.

HALL

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ACTION: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA

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U: MR HEYMANN SUB
AF: AMB MOORE SUB
S/S: MR BROWN
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TO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

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S E C R E T STATE 283625

EXDIS

FOL: SENT ACTION SECSTATE DEC 5 FROM LONDON QTE LONDON 14898

EXDIS/NOFORN

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN CRISIS; BRITISH CONSIDER NEW PEACE INITIATIVES

REF: STATE'S 282243

1. YESTERDAY AFTERNOON (DEC 4) BEFORE RECEIPT REFTEL, WE WERE INVITED BY FONOFF'S PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECTY, MAURICE FOLEY, TO DISCUSS NEW INITIATIVES TO END NIGERIAN CONFLICT BEING ACTIVELY CONSIDERED BY BRITISH. SIR LESLIE MONSON (DEPUTY UNDER SECTY) AND DONALD TEBBIT (ASST UNDER SECTY) WERE ALSO PRESENT. IN COURSE OF CONVERSATION, WHICH COVERED MAIN POINTS OF INTEREST TO DEPT, WE PROVIDED FOLEY, MONSON AND TEBBIT WITH COPIES OF UNDER SECTY'S BROWN UNIVERSITY SPEECH.

2. FOLEY SAID GOVT WAS AGAIN BEGINNING TO FEEL STING OF PARLIAMENTARY CRITICISM OR ARMS-SUPPLY POLICY. OPPOSITION LEADERS WERE CALLING FOR NEW BRITISH INITIATIVES TO END FIGHTING (LONDON'S 14830) AND BACKBENCH HECKLING WAS INCREASING FROM BOTH SIDES OF HOUSE. SOME MEMBERS WERE CALLING FOR FULL-

SECRET

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The seal of the United States Department of State is located at the top center of the document. It features an eagle with wings spread, perched on a shield with vertical stripes. Above the eagle's head is a circular emblem containing stars. The entire seal is encircled by the text "DEPARTMENT OF STATE" at the top and "UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" at the bottom, separated by small stars.

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The seal of the United States Department of State, featuring an eagle with a shield, holding an olive branch and arrows, with a constellation of stars above its head. The text "DEPARTMENT OF STATE" is arched above the eagle, and "UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" is arched below it.

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6. FOLEY TOLD AKE THAT BRITISH WANTED TO DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO PRODUCE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, BUT COULD NOT THEMSELVES NEGOTIATE FOR FMG. BRITS VISUALIZED TALKS PROCEEDING IN THREE STAGES: BRITISH MINISTER WOULD MEET WITH OJUKWU; HE WOULD THEN MEET WITH GOWON AND, IF ALL WENT WELL, DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN OJUKWU AND GOWON WOULD FOLLOW. AKE SAID HE WOULD REPORT BRITISH REACTION TO HOUPHOUET SO THAT IVORY COAST LEADER COULD PONDER NEXT STEPS. FOLEY EXPECTED SOME FURTHER WORD FROM AKE WITHIN NEXT FEW DAYS. HE DID NOT KNOW WHETHER CHANNEL WOULD BRING RESULTS, BUT THOUGHT GOIC WOULD BE UNLIKELY TO PROMOTE MEETING WITHOUT FRENCH APPROVAL AND INITIATIVE WAS THEREFORE WORTH PURSUING.

8. REFERRING TO VARIOUS UNOFFICIAL INITIATIVES BEING UNDERTAKEN BY MP'S AND OTHERS INTERESTED IN NIGERIAN SITUATION; FOLEY SAID LORD BROCKWAY AND JAMES GRIFFITHS (LONDON'S 14830) HAD CHECKED WITH FONOFF BEFORE GOING TO SAO TOME. THEY HAD RECEIVED BIAFRAN ASSURANCES OF TRANSPORT FROM SAO TOME AND MEETING WITH OJUKWU. IF ALL WENT AS PLANNED, THEY WOULD RETURN TO LONDON NEXT WEEK AND REPORT ON OJUKWU'S ATTITUDE. TRIP OF FORMER CW SECTY ARTHUR BOTTOMLEY TO LAGOS WAS HIS OWN IDEA AND WAS FINANCED BY UK BUSINESS FIRM WITH WHICH HE ASSOCIATED.

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By: MN Date: 10/5/01

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LONDON 14830 041848Z

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ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, SA 01, ACDA 16, MC 01, AID 28, SAH 02, SCSE 00, SPA 02, P 04,
E 15, RSR 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,
RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, NSA 02, /182 W
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R 041526Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7556
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMCONSUL IBADAN
AMCONSUL KADUNA

UNCLAS LONDON 14830

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: PRESSURE FOR NEW PEACE INITIATIVES

1. PRIMIN WILSON YESTERDAY AFTERNOON (DEC 3) RESISTED
OPPOSITION PRESSURE IN HOUSE OF COMMONS FOR NEW BRITISH
INITIATIVE TO LIMIT ARMS SHIPMENTS TO BOTH SIDES IN NIGERIAN
CONFLICT. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF PRIMIN'S EXCHANGE WITH
OPPOSITION LEADERS HEATH AND DOUGLAS-HOME AS REPORTED TODAY'S
TIMES:

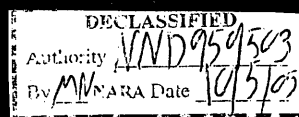
A) "MR. WILSON ASKED THE PRIMIN FOR STATEMENT ON HIS RECENT
DISCUSSION WITH CHIEF ENAHORO ABOUT SUPPLY ARMS TO NIGERIA."

PRIMIN WILSON - "MY DISCUSSIONS WITH CHIEF ENAHORO NOV 8
PROVIDED OPPORTUNITY FOR REVIEW ALL ASPECTS OF NIGERIAN WAR
BUT DETAILS MUST REMAIN CONFIDENTIAL."

MR. HEATH - "WILL PRIMIN CONSIDER WHETHER TIME HAS NOT YET
COME TO TAKE FURTHER INITIATIVE -- AND PERHAPS FOR GOVT TO
TAKE IT THEMSELVES -- FIRST OF ALL, TO TRY WITH OTHER COUNTRIES
TO GET LIMITATION ON ARMS GOING TO NIGERIA AND BIAFRA, AND
PARTICULARLY PRIVATE ARMS, AND SECOND, WHETHER BRITISH GOVT
COULD BE RESPONSIBLE FOR FLYING IN FOOD SUPPLIES WITHOUT

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THEM BEING INSPECTED BY FEDERAL GOVT."

MR. WILSON - "THERE ARE IMPORTANT QUESTIONS BUT MR. HEATH HAS GOT SUGGESTIONS IN WRONG FORM. ON FIRST, IT IS ALMOST TOTAL INABILITY TO CONTROL PRIVATE ARMS SHIPMENTS THAT HAS CAUSED DIFFICULTY ALL ALONG.

"PROBLEM IS TO GET BOTH SIDES TO AGREE TO CEASEFIRE. LIMITATION ON ARMS WOULD NOT OF ITSELF ACHIEVE THAT. RECENT SHIPMENTS TO BIAFRA HAVE PROLONGED MISERY AND AGONY.

"REGARDING RELIEF, WE MADE CLEAR FROM BEGINNING THAT WE WERE PREPARED PUT ROYAL AIR FORCE TRANSPORT AIRCRAFT AVAILABLE. UNFORTUNATELY, WE COULD GET NO AGREEMENT FOR DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS NECESSARY."

DOUGLAS-HOME - "IF IT TRUE THAT THERE ONLY ONE AIRFIELD WHICH IS ESSENTIAL TO GETTING FOOD SUPPLIES INTO BIAFRAN TERRITORY, IS PRIMIN SAYING THAT ACCESS TO THIS IS BEING REFUSED BY COL OJUKWU? IF THAT IS SO, COULD PRIMIN MAKE ANOTHER EFFORT SEE THESE FOOD SUPPLIES MIGHT GET FLOWN IN UNDER BRITISH GOVT SUPERVISION?"

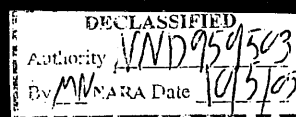
WILSON - "SIR A. DOUGLAS-HOME WILL KNOW OF REPEATED INITIATIVES WE HAVE TAKEN, INCLUDING RECENT ONE, IN THIS MATTER. INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF RED CROSS -- AND I AM DISCUSSING MATTER WITH CHAIRMAN THIS EVENING -- ARE CONVINCED NIGHT FLIGHTS ALONE CANNOT MEET NEED IN REBEL-HELD TERRITORY FOR FOOD AND MEDICAL SUPPLIES. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AGREE TO DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS, BUT COL OJUKWU HAS STILL TO BE PERSUADED TO AGREE.

" I HAVE EXPRESSED VIEW THAT EVEN IF HE DOES , IT MAY BE INADEQUATE IN PERIOD IN NEW YEAR WHEN THERE IS NEED TO FLY IN MASSIVE AMOUNTS OF CARBOHYDRATES AS WELL AS PROTEIN."

2. TIMES THIS MORNING ALSO REPORTS FORMER COLONIAL SECRETARY JAMES GRIFFITHS, AGED 78 AND LORD BROCKWAY, AGED 80, CHAIRMAN OF "PEACE IN NIGERIA" COMMITTEE, LEFT LONDON FOR SAO TOME LAST NIGHT TO "EXPLORE POSSIBILITY OF CEASEFIRE IN NIGERIA." BRUCE

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PAGE 01 LONDON 14821 032000Z

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ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 02, SCSE 00, IO 13, SA 01, GPM 04,

NSC 10, ACDA 16, MC 01, RSR 01, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, INR 07, P 04,

RSC 01, USIA 12, /137 W

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R 031908Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7550
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMCONSUL IBADAN
AMCONSUL KADUNA
USUN NEW YORK 1513

UNCLAS LONDON 14821

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: CALLS FOR NEGOTIATIONS

1. WEEKEND APPEAL BY OXFAM CALLING FOR HMG TO "GIVE PRIORITY NOW TO GETTING THE FIGHTING STOPPED" IN NIGERIA RECEIVED WIDE ATTENTION IN LONDON PRESS, NOTABLY GUARDIAN WHICH DISCUSSED SUBJECT DEC 2 IN LEADER AND ARTICLE BY PATRICK KEATLEY.

ENCLOSURE BY 22/8
2. KEATLEY SAID "THE QUESTION COL. OJUKWU MUST ANSWER" IS WHETHER HE WILL ALLOW DAYTIME RELIEF FLIGHTS INTO BIAFRA. FEDERALS HAVE CHANGED POLICY AND WILL NOW INSTRUCT THEIR PILOTS NOT TO INTERFERE WITH DAYTIME RELIEF FLIGHTS IF FEDERAL AUTHORITIES NOTIFIED OF FLIGHT IN ADVANCE. OJUKWU HOWEVER HAS NOT CHANGED HIS POLICY OF ALLOWING ONLY NIGHTTIME FLIGHTS. ACCORDING TO KEATLEY, FEDERALS THINK OJUKWU IS USING NIGHTTIME RELIEF FLIGHTS TO COVER UP FLIGHTS CARRYING ARMS (TEN PER NIGHT). KEATLEY ADDED THAT ONE SWEDISH RED CROSS PILOT RESIGNED BECAUSE HE FELT HE WAS FLYING COVER FOR ARMS FLIGHTS. SITUATION REPORTED TO BE GETTING WORSE (300,000 DEATHS BY STARVATION IN NOV.) DUE TO "DRASTIC" CARBOHYDRATE DEFICIENCY. KEATLEY CITED FEDERAL VIEW THAT THOSE CONCERNED FOR WELFARE OF IBOS SHOULD PRESS OJUKWU TO ACCEPT DAYTIME RELIEF FLIGHTS.

3. GUARDIAN EDITORIAL ENTITLED "OXFAM CANNOT STOP THE WAR" CALLED ON HMG TO STOP SENDING ARMS AND GIVING POLITICAL SUPPORT

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By MNA Date 10/5/00



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TO FEDERAL. GUARDIAN SAID CIVIL WAR IS NOW LIKE VIETNAM,
TRAGIC STALEMATE WHERE MANY ARE DYING. TASK OF RELIEF TO
BIAFRA GUARDIAN FELT WAS TOO GREAT FOR PRIVATE CHARITIES BUT
MUST BE CARRIED ON BY GOVT'S OR INTERNATIONAL BODY SUCH AS UNRRA.
GUARDIAN CONCLUDED THAT WILSON MUST CONVINCE GOWON TO ACCEPT
CONFEDERATION, JUST AS US MUST PERSUADE THIEU TO ACCEPT COALITION
BECAUSE "ALTERNATIVE IS NOT VICTORY, BUT CONTINUED FIGHTING
WITH NO FORESEEABLE END". BRUCE

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MMNARA
Date	10/5/03



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PAGE 01 LAGOS 14949 031840Z

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SCSE 00, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, RSR 01, 148 W

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R 031530Z DEC 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
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INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
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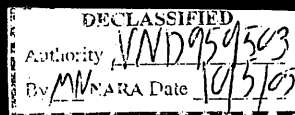
SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUNDUP DECEMBER 03

1. ALL PAPERS EXCEPT TRIBUNE AND OBSERVER FEATURE STORIES
ON FMG PRESS RELEASE QTE DOUBTING SINCERITY AND MOTIVATION
UNQTE BEHIND RECENT CALLS FOR CEASE-FIRE,
ISSUED BY OXFAM AND CARITAS. STATEMENT EMPHASIZES FMG
QTE READINESS FOR END TO HOSTILITIES ONCE REBEL LEADERS
GIVE UP SECESSION AND SHOW GENUINE DESIRE TO ENGAGE IN
MEANINGFUL PEACE TALKS UNQTE. ACCUSES HUMANITARIAN AGENCIES
OF HAVING QTE AIDED AND ABETTED SECESSIONIST LEADERS... (AND)
NOW THAT TIDE IS TURNING SERIOUSLY AGAINST REBELS ON ALL

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 14949 031840Z

FRONTS... THEIR HUMANITARIAN COLLABORATORS ARE ONCE AGAIN SHOUTING LOUDLY ABOUT STARVATION UNQTE. FMG POINTS OUT MOST EFFECTIVE WAY TO BRING RELIEF SUPPLIES TO HUNGRY IS BY LAND ROUTE WHICH FMG PROPOSED LONG AGO AND STATES THAT IF THESE AGENCIES WERE QTE GENUINELY INTERESTED IN SUFFERINGS AND STARVATION OF WAR VICTIMS THEY WOULD HAVE EXERTED EVEN SOME TOKEN PRESSURE ON REBEL LEADERS NOT TO PLAY POLITICS WITH HUMAN LIVES BY AGREEING TO A LAND CORRIDOR ... TRUTH IS THAT REBEL LEADERS AND THEIR COLLABORATORS WANT MORE ARMS-- NOT FOOD AND RELIEF UNQTE.

2. ALL PAPERS NOTE ARRIVAL OF FORMER BRITISH MINISTER FOR COMMONWEALTH AFFAIRS, ARTHUR BOTTOMLEY IN LAGOS DEC 2. BOTTOMLEY STATED IN AIRPORT INTERVIEW HE WAS HERE FOR ONE WEEK QTE FACT-FINDING UNQTE TOUR.

3. ALL PAPERS EXCEPT OBSERVER AND PILOT REPORT DEPARTURE OF BRIG. DAVID EJOOR, DIRECTOR OF PLANNING AND TRAINING NIGERIAN ARMY, FOR NEW DELHI. EJOOR WILL DELIVER MESSAGE FROM GENERAL GOWON TO MRS. GHANDI THANKING GOI QTE FOR HELPING TO TRAIN OUR MILITARY PERSONNEL. UNQTE

4. POST CARRIES EDITORIAL CONGRATULATING NIGERIAN CATHOLIC BISHOPS ON QTE FIRM STAND THEY HAVE TAKEN...AND THEIR PROJECTED TRIP ROME TO URGE RESTRAINING HAND ON ACTIVITIES OF SOME MISGUIDED CATHOLICS AND ORGANIZATIONS OF CATHOLIC CHURCH UNQTE (SEE LAGOS 14894 PARA 1). PRAISES ROLE OF CATHOLICS IN PROMOTING EDUCATION AND SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY IN NIGERIA AND ASKS FOR GODS BLESSING ON TRIP TO ROME BECAUSE QTE AT LAST CHURCH HAS COME OUT IN SUPPORT OF THE TRUTH... AND DISASSOCIATED THEMSELVES FROM COMPLICITY IN OUR INTERNAL AFFAIRS UNQTE. (COMMENT: LAUDATORY ARTICLE IN NIGERIAN PAPERS MUST BE WELCOME CHANGE FOR LOCAL CATHOLIC OFFICIALS).

MATHEWS

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Authority <i>VND 959503</i>
By <i>MMNARA</i> Date <i>10/5/05</i>



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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 IBADAN 00685 241006Z

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ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSAE 00, NSCE 00, SSO 00, USIE 00, CCH 00,
GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, AID 28,
IO 13, SAH 02, SR 01, ORM 03, RSR 01, /137 W. 080552

P R 231415Z NOV 68
FM AMCONSUL IBADAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 669
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMCONSUL KADUNA

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE IBADAN 685

SUMMARY: THIS TELEGRAM OUTLINES PRESS CONTROVERSY BETWEEN WESTERN STATE OWNED "DAILY SKETCH" AND FEDERAL INFO COMMISSIONER ENAHORO OVER "SKETCH" REPRINT OF LONDON "FINANCIAL TIMES" INTERVIEW WITH ENAHORO CONCERNING NIGERIAN PEACE TERMS. ENAHORO DENIES IMPRESSION GIVEN BY BOTH PAPERS THAT HE SOFTENED NIGERIA'S PEACE TERMS.

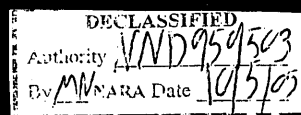
1. NOV 13 "FINANCIAL TIMES" PRINTED INTERVIEW WITH CHIEF ENAHORO WHICH PICKED UP BY "DAILY SKETCH" OF NOV 21 AND IN UNCHARACTERISTIC FASHION REPRINTED VERBATIM WITHOUT EITHER ERROR OR OMISSION UNDER FRONT PAGE BANNER HEADLINE "DRAMATIC CHANGE IN PEACE TERMS: CONFEDERATION NOT RULED OUT."

2. PRINCIPAL POINTS OF ARTICLE WERE THAT SETTLEMENT WOULD BE ON BASIS ONE NIGERIA BUT QUESTION WHAT SORT NIGERIA THIS WOULD BE WOULD BE SETTLED AT CONSTITUTIONAL CONFERENCE AT WHICH PEOPLE OF NIGERIA AS WHOLE REPRESENTED.... CONFEDERATION NOT RULED OUT.... AS FAR AS PORT HARCOURT CONCERNED SOME MIGHT ARGUE IT SHOULD BE INTERNATIONALIZED; CITY CHIEF OUTLET FOR TWO LANDLOCKED STATES, NIGER AND CHAD AND, BESIDES CITY CONTAINED MANY INTERNATIONAL INTERESTS.... CONCERNING FUTURE OF OJUKWU AND REST OF BIAFRAN LEADERSHIP, I DO NOT RULE ANYBODY OR ANYTHING OUT.... IT WOULD NOT BE IMPOSSIBLE TO RE-INSTATE HIM. HE RULED OUT

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PAGE 02 IBADAN 00685 241006Z

PLEBISCITE TO DETERMINE FUTURE EASTERN MINORITIES AND ADMITTED PROBLEM OF EMPLOYMENT IN STATES DIFFICULT, ESPECIALLY FOR IBOS IN LAGOS. ALSO UNCONDITIONAL CEASEFIRE OUT OF QUESTION. FINALLY, "HE WAS CONVINCED THAT QUESTION OF SECESSION COULD BE SOLVED BY MILITARY MEANS BUT AGREED THAT FUNDAMENTAL GRIEVANCES OF PEOPLE NEEDED BE SETTLED AROUND CONFERENCE TABLE." NIGERIANS STILL PREPARED TALK PEACE IN ORDER AVOID LONG DRAWN OUT REBELLION OR GUERRILLA WAR.

3. ON NOV 20 COMMISSIONER YEROKUN, WHO HAS GENERAL RESPONSIBILITY FOR SUPERVISING "SKETCH," TOLD BRIT DEP HI COM THAT FMG UPSET ABOUT ARTICLE AND HE HAD BEEN TO LAGOS "TO EXPLAIN." HE DOWNPLAYED EPISODE AS ANOTHER EFFORT OF ENAHORO GRAB HEADLINES THROUGH PRESS INTERVIEWS.

4. "DAILY SKETCH" OF 23RD PRINTED THIRTY-FOUR PARAGRAPH LETTER FROM ENAHORO UNDER BANNER FRONT PAGE HEADLINE "TERMS UNCHANGED." ENAHORO CLAIMS THAT "ALTHOUGH PUBLICATION IN "FINANCIAL TIMES" CONTAINED CERTAIN OMISSIONS, SLANTS AND INTERPRETATIONS WHICH AFFECTED SENSE OF ANSWERS, THE GENERAL TONE OF REPORT WAS NOT CONSIDERED SO SINISTER AS TO CALL FOR REJOINDER. INDEED, FOR FIRST TIME, PAPER'S REPORT EMPHASISED FLEXIBILITY OF FMG POSITION." HE CHARGES, HOWEVER, THAT "TREATMENT WHICH "SKETCH" ACCORDED REPORT... IS SO SCANDALOUS AS TO BE INEXCUSABLE." HE MAKES NINE CRITICISMS OF ARTICLE AND ACCUSES PAPER OF BEING UNPATRIOTIC OR WORSE TO ASSIST IN SPREADING SUCH STORIES.

5. ENAHORO SAYS HE DID TELL "FINANCIAL TIMES" THAT CONSTITUTIONAL FUTURE WILL BE DECIDED AT CONFERENCE IN WHICH ALL PARTS NIGERIA REPRESENTED AND "CONFEDERALISTS WOULD HAVE OPPORTUNITY CANVASS THEIR VIEWS." ON QUESTION OF "...OJUKWU OR HIS HENCHMEN EVER

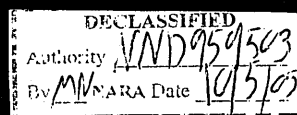
PLAYING A ROLE IN ADMINISTRATION OF NIGERIA," ENAHORO TOLD FT "MY WHOLE EXPERIENCE IN PUBLIC LIFE HAD TAUGHT ME NOT TO RULE OUT

ANY POSSIBILITY," ADDING THAT FMG HAD APPOINTED OJUKWU IN FIRST PLACE AND LATER REMOVED HIM "SO NOTHING WAS IMPOSSIBLE IN THIS REGARD." ENAHORO CONCLUDED: "IN SUMMARY, I TOLD THE CORRESPONDENT THAT FMG POSITION AS STATED AT ADDIS HAD NOT CHANGED BUT THAT ANY NEW PROPOSALS FROM REBELS COULD BE EXAMINED ON THEIR MERITS."

6. WITH REGARD TO "SKETCH", ENAHORO SAID: "I AM WELL AWARE OF

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MOTIVATIONS AND INTERESTS WHICH LIE BEHIND SENSATIONAL REPRODUCTION OF REPORT WHICH NOW ABOUT TEN DAYS OLD FROM NEWSPAPER HOSTILE TO FMG AS EXHIBITED BY OIELEADING HEADLINES ... I BELIEVE I KNOW SOMETHING OF POLITICAL CONSIDERATIONS, EMOTIONS AND AMBITIONS WHICH ACUATED YOUR BELATED PUBLICATION." HE AVERRED HE STRONG FEDERALIST EVEN WHEN OTHERS HAVE WAVERED TOWARD CONFEDERALISM.

7. IN BRIEF DISCUSSION OF ARTICLE WITH ME THIS MORNING MIL GOV ADEBAYO TREATED MATTER LIGHTLY. ADEBAYO SAID ENAHORO'S QUARREL SHOULD BE WITH FT AND NOT "SKETCH." HE ADDED THAT THIS EXPERIENCE SHOULD TEACH ENAHORO TO BE MORE CAREFUL WITH NEWSPAPER INTERVIEWERS IN FUTURE.

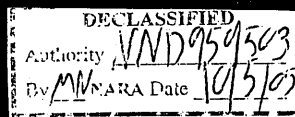
8. COMMENT: ENAHORO'S REPLIES TO FT MAY NOT PITERAPLY#CHANGE ADDIS PEACE TERMS; HOWEVER, THEY DO GIVE IMPRESSION OF SOME SOFTENING BY EMPHASIZING POINTS OF FLEXIBILITY IN FMG NEGOTIATING POSITION IN WAY WE HAVE NOT OBSERVED BEFORE. IN SETTING FORTH THESE REPLIES IN GREATER DETAIL IN "SKETCH," ENAHORO DRAWS EVEN GREATER ATTENTION FMG'S FLEXIBILITY. THUS, WHILE "SKETCH" HEADLINE CLEARLY SENSATIONAL AND ITS DECISION TO REPRINT FT ARTICLE AT THIS TIME UNDOUBTEDLY HAS YORUBA POLITICAL OVERTONES, ENAHORO HAS MANAGED USE IT TO HIGHLIGHT REASONABLENESS OF FMG ON NEGOTIATIONS, WHILE AT SAME TIME REAFFIRMING FMG POSITION AND CHASTIZING "SKETCH."

9. FULL TEXTS BEING POUCHED.
STRONG

NOTE: WAS RECEIVED.

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ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02,

INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 25, SA 01, NSA 02, RSR 01, 134
072477

R 221525Z NOV 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3647
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 14683

SUBJECT: FRANCE AND BIAFRA

REF: LAGOS 14575 (NOTAL)
UKMCOM HAS GIVEN US FOLLOWING TELEGRAM OF NOVEMBER 18
FROM UKMIS TO UN:

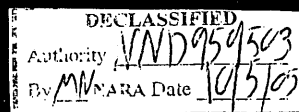
1. WHEN I SAW AMBASSADOR BERARD (FRANCE) ON ANOTHER
MATTER TODAY HE ASKED ME IF I HAD SEEN THE BIAFRAN
DELEGATION. I SAID THAT I DID NOT KNOW THAT THERE
WAS A BIAFRAN DELEGATION IN NEW YORK AT PRESENT. HE
ASKED ME TO TELL MY GOVERNMENT THAT HE HAD MADE IT
PLAIN TO THIS DELEGATION THAT THERE WAS NO QUESTION OF
THE BIAFRAN ISSUE BEING RAISED IN THE UNITED NATIONS
AND THAT NO USEFUL PURPOSE WOULD BE SERVED BY ENDEAVORING
TO RAISE THE QUESTION HERE.

2. WE WENT ON TO SAY THAT HIS GOVERNMENT ATTACHED
IMPORTANCE TO THE DISCUSSIONS IN LONDON BETWEEN THE
BRITISH FOREIGN SECRETARY AND THE FOREIGN SECRETARY
OF THE IVORY COAST (MR USHER).

COMMENT: IT SEEMS TO US THAT THERE ARE NOW ENOUGH
STRAWS IN THE WIND TO SUGGEST THAT THE FRENCH MAY BE
RETHINKING THEIR POLICY TOWARD BIAFRA. IT ALSO
SEEMS IMPLIED THAT THE FRENCH WISH THE CHANGE IN

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POLICY TO APPEAR TO COME FROM THE IVORY COAST IN
THE FIRST INSTANCE.

GP-1.
MATHEWS

CONFIDENTIAL

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Authority	VND 950503
By	MM NARA Date 10/5/05



FT 4 NIGERIA-USSR
TK POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,
NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, SAH 02, SAL 01, AID 28, COM 08, E 15,
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R 221601Z NOV 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3648
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA UNN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA UNN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA UNN
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY UNN
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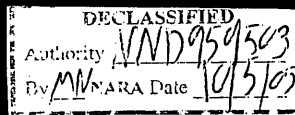
USIA FOR IBS

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PRESS ROUNDUP NOVEMBER 22

1. ALL PAPERS EXCEPT PILOT (WHICH REPORTED EVENT YESTERDAY) HEADLINE SIGNING OF SOVIET-NIGERIAN TRADE PACT (REPORTED SEPTTEL). TRIBUNE ALSO HAS FRONT-PAGE EDITORIAL QTE A GOOD BEGINNING UNQTE CITING PACT AS QTE MAJOR BREAKTHROUGH IN DIPLOMATIC STATURE OF NIGERIA AND AN ONWARD MARCH TOWARDS COMPLETE ECONOMIC FREEDOM. UNQTE
2. OBSERVER EDITORIAL ISSUES HAWKISH CALL QTE END WAR NOW--NO MORE TALKS. UNQTE STATES THAT IT HOPES REPORTED ENAMORO STATEMENTS IN LONDON CONTAINING SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER PEACE CONFERENCES OR DISCUSSION OF CONFEDERAL BASIS FOR SETTLEMENT OF WAR, ARE QUOTATIONS QTE TAKEN OUT OF CONTEXT UNQTE. STATES ANY RESUMPTION OF TALKS
- (2)

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State

TELEGRAM

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CONFIDENTIAL 678

PAGE 01 LAGOS 14574 191752Z

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ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, NSA 02, AID 28, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07,
L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SR 01, ORM 03, RSR 01,
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11-19-68

R 191451Z NOV 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3591
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 14574

NOFORN EXCEPT UK

SUBJ: SHEPHERD-ENAHORO CONVERSATION

FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF FCO TELEGRAM OF NOV 15 TO UK
HICOM LAGOS:

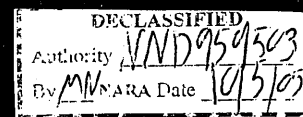
1. BEGIN TEXT - WHEN LORD SHEPHERD SAW CHIEF ENAHORO AGAIN ON 13 NOVEMBER HE EMPHASIZED TO HIM THE GREAT POLITICAL PRESSURES WHICH WE FACED AND THE DETERMINED EFFORTS WHICH WERE BEING MADE BY OUR CRITICS TO CHANGE OUR POLICY AS OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES HAVE CHANGED THEIRS. WE WERE DETERMINED TO MAINTAIN OUR SUPPORT OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT BUT IN ORDER THAT WE COULD DO SO IT MIGHT BE NECESSARY FOR US TO TAKE, IN CONSULTATION WITH THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, SOME STEPS TO BLUNT THESE PRESSURES AND TO BE SEEN TO BE TAKING AN ACTIVE PART IN BRINGING BOTH SIDES TO THE CONFERENCE TABLE. HE MENTIONED FOR EXAMPLE, THAT WE WERE CONSIDERING TENTATIVELY THE POSSIBILITY OF TRYING TO ARRANGE TO SEE OJUKWU IN SOME NEUTRAL PLACE. LORD SHEPHERD DID NOT SPECIFICALLY SAY THAT A BRITISH MINISTER MIGHT TAKE PART IN SUCH A MEETING BUT WAS CAREFUL NOT TO EXCLUDE THIS POSSIBILITY. CHIEF ENAHORO UNDERTOOK TO INFORM HIS COLLEAGUES AND ASKED PARTICULARLY THAT NOTHING

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 14574 191752Z

OF THIS SHOULD GET OUT INTO THE PRESS. HE DID NOT
HIMSELF RAISE ANY SPECIFIC OBJECTION TO THE IDEA BUT
STRESSED HOW IMPORTANT IT WAS THAT WE SHOULD CONSULT
THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT FULLY IN ADVANCE OF ANY SUCH
ACTION.

2. LORD SHEPHERD TOLD HIM IN CONFIDENCE THAT HE HAD
SEEN DR. AZIKIWE WHO WE THOUGHT COULD NOT INFLUENCE
OJUKWU AT THIS TIME BUT MIGHT HAVE A VALUABLE ROLE TO
PLAY LATER. END TEXT
GP-1 MATHEWS

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By	MVA/ARA
Date	10/5/05



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Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 14575 191921Z

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ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10,

P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, IO 13, AID 28, SAH 02, MC 01,

ACDA 16, RSR 01, 164 W

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R 191455Z NOV 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3592
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 14575

SUBJ: FRANCE AND BIAFRA

REF: PARIS 24013 ML

HEREWITH TEXT OF UK EMBASSY PARIS TELEGRAM ON LEDWIDGE-
LEBEL CONVERSATION REPORTED IN REFTEL:

1. BEGIN TEXT-MINISTER CALLED ON DIRECTOR OF AFRICAN
AFFAIRS AT QUAI D'ORSAY ON 13 NOVEMBER TO DISCUSS NIGERIA.
HE HAD TOLD HIM IN ADVANCE THAT THIS WAS WHAT HE WANTED
TO TALK ABOUT.

2. THE MINISTER SAID THAT M. DEBRE HAD REMARKED TO ME
ON 30 OCTOBER THAT BRITISH AND FRENCH VIEWS ON NIGERIA
DIFFERED BUT THAT WE HAD A COMMON INTEREST IN MAINTAINING
STABILITY IN AFRICA. BRITISH POLICY WAS TO TRY AND HELP
STABILITY BY ENDING THE WAR IN NIGERIA. WE WANTED A
CEASEFIRE AND A POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. WE THOUGHT THAT,
IF OJUKWU WOULD MAKE CONCESSION OVER SOVEREIGNTY, IBOS
WOULD HAVE GOOD CHANCE OF OBTAINING SATISFACTORY
GUARANTEES FOR THEIR SECURITY, ESPECIALLY NOW THAT THERE
WERE INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS IN NIGERIA. OAU MEETING
IN ALGIERS HAD SHOWN THAT GREAT MAJORITY OF AFRICAN
COUNTRIES WANTED TO PRESERVE UNITY OF NIGERIA AND

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FEARED BREAK-UP OF THE FEDERATION WOULD BE MENACE TO STABILITY OF OTHER AFRICAN COUNTRIES. WE HAD HOPED RECENTLY THAT IBOS WOULD SOON STOP FIGHTING, BUT NOW THIS POSSIBILITY SEEMED TO HAVE RECEDED BECAUSE FRESH SUPPLIES OF ARMS HAD REACHED REBELS AND OJUKWU WAS UNCOMPROMISING. AS WE UNDERSTOOD IT, FRENCH GOVERNMENT'S DECLARED POLICY WAS TO GIVE POLITICAL BUT NOT MILITARY SUPPORT TO IBOS. WAS THIS CORRECT, AND HOW DID THE FRENCH SEE WAR ENDING?

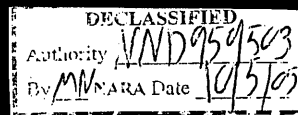
3. LEBEL SAID THAT UNTIL ABOUT LAST APRIL FRENCH HAD HELD ALOOF FROM NIGERIAN WAR, REGARDING IT AS A MATTER FOR AFRICANS AND IN PARTICULAR NIGERIANS THEMSELVES TO SETTLE. THEN THEY HAD CHANGED THEIR ATTITUDE FOR TWO REASONS. FIRST THE TENACITY OF BIAFRAN RESISTANCE HAD CONVINCED FRENCH THAT WAR WAS NOT PERSONAL ADVENTURE OF OJUKWU, BUT REFLECTED REAL DESIRE OF A PEOPLE OF SEVERAL MILLIONS FOR SELFDETERMINATION. SECONDLY, M. HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY HAD TOLD FRENCH HE FELT VERY STRONGLY THAT CAUSE OF IBOS WAS JUST. SO FRENCH HAD DECIDED TO GIVE POLITICAL SUPPORT TO BIAFRA.

4. MINISTER REFERRED TO PRESS REPORTS OF FLOW OF FRENCH AND CZECHOSLOVAKIAN ARMS TO IBOS. LEBEL SAID HE HAD NO WORTHWHILE REPORTS CONFIRMING SUCH A FLOW, BUT THAT "NO CIVIL SERVANT COULD GIVE A GUARANTEE" THAT NO ARMS WERE REACHING BIAFRA FROM FRANCE. GUN RUNNERS WERE VERY INGENIOUS PEOPLE. IT WAS UNDERSTANDABLE THAT THERE SHOULD BE SOME SUSPICION OF FRANCE, SINCE SHE WAS ONLY NON AFRICAN COUNTRY SYMPATHISING WITH BIAFRA; BUT LOTS OF ARMS HAD GONE TO BIAFRA IN PAST FROM PORTUGAL VIA SAO TOME, AND PERHAPS THAT ROUTE WAS STARTING UP AGAIN. A GERMAN-AMERICAN CALLED WARTON HAD, HE SAID, BEEN RUNNING THAT OPERATION. POLICY OF FRENCH GOVERNMENT WAS TO GIVE NO MILITARY AID TO EITHER SIDE.

5. LEBEL SAID FRENCH AGREED WITH HMG AS TO DESIRABILITY OF CEASE-FIRE AND POLITICAL SETTLEMENT. QUESTION OF TERMS WAS DIFFICULT. NEITHER SIDE HAD SHOWN ANY DISPOSITION TO COMPROMISE RECENTLY. HE WAS ENCOURAGED BY FINANCIAL TIMES REPORT OF 13 NOVEMBER THAT CHIEF ENAHORO HAD SPOKEN IN MORE FLEXIBLE TERMS. IT WAS POSSIBLE THAT IF NIGERIAN

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PAGE 03 LAGOS 14575 191921Z

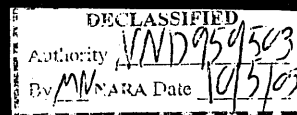
GOVERNMENT WERE MORE FLEXIBLE, OJUKWU WOULD ALSO BE SO. FRENCH HAD NO REAL CONTACT WITH OJUKWU, ALTHOUGH THERE WERE SOME BIAFRANS IN FRANCE, BUT IF M. HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY WERE TO URGE HIM TO OFFER A COMPROMISE, IT MIGHT HAVE SOME EFFECT. LEBEL HASTENED TO ADD THAT FRENCH HAD NO INFORMATION TO SUGGEST THAT M. HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY WAS YET READY TO SPEAK TO OJUKWU IN THIS SENSE, BUT POSSIBILITY THAT HE WOULD DO SO AT SOME FUTURE DATE WAS NOT TO BE EXCLUDED. HE HAD NO INFORMATION ABOUT USHER'S REACTION TO WHAT HAD BEEN SAID TO HIM DURING HIS VISIT TO LONDON, BUT IF HE WAS NOW DISPOSED TO RECOMMEND A COMPROMISE THIS MIGHT WEIGH WITH HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY. THE FRENCH DOUBTED WHETHER OTHER AFRICAN EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A SETTLEMENT WERE LIKELY TO SUCCEED. HE ADDED THAT PRIVATE CONTACTS SUGGESTED THAT MANY AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS WERE LESS ARDENTLY COMMITTED TO FEDERAL NIGERIAN SIDE THAN RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT ALGIERS WOULD SUGGEST.

6. LEDWIDGE SAID THAT NEVERTHELESS 33 AFRICAN GOVERNMENTS HAD PUBLICLY COMMITTED THEMSELVES IN FAVOUR OF MAINTAINING NIGERIAN UNITY. DID FRENCH GOVERNMENT THINK SOLUTION ON THESE LINES WAS POSSIBLE? LEBEL SAID THAT FRENCH GOVERNMENT HAD NO PRECISE IDEAS ABOUT TERMS BUT CERTAINLY DID NOT RULE OUT SOLUTION THAT WOULD PRESERVE NIGERIA'S UNITY, ALTHOUGH IN CONSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK DIFFERENT FROM THE PRESENT ONE. BIAFRAN AUTONOMY, WITHIN A CONFEDERATION OF NIGERIA, MIGHT BE CONCEIVABLE. LEDWIDGE SAID HE WAS GLAD TO HEAR THAT FRENCH DID NOT REGARD BREAK-UP OF NIGERIAN UNITY AS INEVITABLE. A MEMBER OF FRENCH EMBASSY IN LONDON HAD RECENTLY SPOKEN TO FCO DEPARTMENT CONCERNED AS IF, APART ALTXMODTHER FROM THE PROBLEM, YORUBAS AND OTHER TRIBES MIGHT HAVE CLAIMS TO PUT FORWARD, LEBEL REPLIED THAT THIS WAS AN EXAMPLE OF A YOUNG OFFICIAL GOING TOO FAR AND THAT IT DID NOT REPRESENT FRENCH POLICY.

7. LEBEL HABITUALLY TRIES TO MINIMISE ANGLO-FRENCH DIFFERENCES OVER NIGERIA AND I THINK ONE MUST MAKE DUE ALLOWANCES FOR PROBABILITY THAT WHILE QUAI D'ORSAY ARE SAYING ONE THING, OTHER FRENCH AGENCIES ARE DOING ANOTHER. THUS BELLEISSE'S REMARK TO MOBERLY ABOUT THE FEDERATION NOT HOLDING TOGETHER WAS ONLY AN ECHO OF WHAT FOCCART AT ELYSEE HAD SAID TO AMERICAN EMBASSY

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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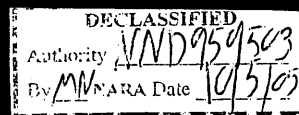
PAGE 04 LAGOS 14575 191921Z

HERE SOON AFTER NIGERIAN WAR BEGAN. NEVERTHELESS LEBEL HAD WARNING OF SUBJECT FOR DISCUSSION AND HIS STATEMENT ABOUT NIGERIAN UNITY AND HIS HINT THAT HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY MIGHT BE BROUGHT TO INFLUENCE OJUKWU TOWARDS COMPROMISE WERE NEW AND MAY NOT BE WHOLLY DISINGENOUS. IT MAY BE THAT QUAI D'ORSAY OFFICIALS ARE STILL ADVISING AGAINST NAILING FRENCH COULOURS FIRMLY TO MAST OF BIAFRAN INDEPENDENCE.

8. LEBEL ASKED IF THERE WAS ANYTHING WE COULD TELL HIM ABOUT USHER'S TALKS IN LONDON. THE MINISTER SAID WE HAD NO NEWS YET. END TEXT
GP-1 MATHEWS

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OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
 TX POL 3 OAU 285236
 11 DEC 68 01 46z

Origin

Info:

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS
 Amembassy LONDON
 INFO: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA
 Amembassy PARIS

STATE _____

EXDIS

REF: London 14898 and Lagos 15081

1. British Ambassador called on Under Secretary today at latter's request to discuss Nigerian situation.
2. Under Secretary outlined our growing concern re humanitarian problem and indicated we have been considering what initiatives USG might take. Before doing so however, we wished ascertain any further information Ambassador could give us re possible actions HMG may have in mind.
3. Ambassador confirmed substance Lagos reftel re preliminary soundings with Gowon and latter's acquiescence in possible UK initiative. UK cabinet met yesterday and decided send Shepherd to Lagos where he will arrive this evening and Foley to Addis Ababa, leaving tonight. He added Foley's purpose is to sound out Emperor on UK ideas and receive his reactions. HMG considers Nigerian problem basically an African responsibility and does not want to get in way of OAU. Further Cabinet meeting taking place today on substance UK proposals which will be forwarded two emissaries. Ambassador at pains to emphasize this initiative will not repeat not involve any change in UK policy. He apparently

Drafted

AF: Palmer:gm:emb 12/10/68

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U - The Under Secretary

S/S - Mr. Parker

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FORM DS-322
 8-65

0756

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 Authority VMD 954503
 By MVA Date 10/5/00

Page 2 of telegram to Amembassies LAGOS, LONDON

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uninformed re substance UK proposals but promised communicate with us further when they known. He added that final decision re meeting with Ojukwu will only be made in light reactions from Gowon.

4. Under Secretary said USG has been thinking in somewhat similar terms re possible initiatives Addis Ababa and Lagos with emphasis primarily on humanitarian assistance but in full knowledge that effective relief can only be assured if means can be found bring hostilities to a stop. In absence termination conflict, stepped up deliveries can only meet part of present needs, let alone massive requirements we foresee by end of year. Nevertheless, we also giving renewed thought and attention to proposals for land corridor and substantial daylight airlift deliveries. Purpose Department's press statements December 5 and 6 was as much to lock FMG into its commitments to these concepts as to take Biafrans to task for failing respond.

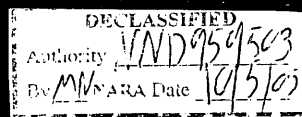
5. In emphasizing need for political settlement, Under Secretary stressed importance of effective guarantees re security of Ibo population as key factor in effort to obtain Ojukwu's concurrence in settling problem within framework one Nigeria. Further key problem is question French arms supply. We have had some slight indications French may be having second thoughts re arms supply and, if this materializes, it could constitute crucial factor in persuading Ojukwu to reverse his present stand. Under Secretary wondered whether there would not be merit in UK putting forcefully to French up-dated figures projecting mass starvation by end of year, thereby hopefully providing French with humanitarian rationale for ~~ceasing their arms supply and~~ cooperating in peaceful final resolution of problem. Only alternative to such a negotiated resolution ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{would be} ~~xxxxxx~~ ^{xxxxxx} for FMG to step up its military capability which we

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FORM DS-322A
8-63
CONTINUATION SHEET

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Page 3 of telegram to Amembassies LAGOS AND LONDON

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would be reluctant to see take place in view of added suffering which would ensue.

6. Ambassador said that HMG also has some slight indications French may be rethinking their assistance to Biafra but he did not have any details. He would nevertheless pass our thought to Fonoff. In response to question, Under Secretary indicated we would hold off on any US initiatives pending more info re British plans. If UN has any thoughts re ways in which US could helpfully supplement through humanitarian initiatives actions HMG is contemplating on political side, we would of course wish consider matter sympathetically.

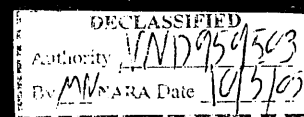
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By MM Date 10/5/92



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TELEGRAM

31

Pol 27-14 Biafra -

Nigeria

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PAGE 01 LONDON 14192 081934Z

455

ACTION SS 70

INFO CIAE 00,CCO 00,SSO 00,NSCE 00,DODE 00,USIE 00,1070 W
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P 081743Z NOV 68
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SECRET LONDON 14192

LIMDIS

NOFORN

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: BRITISH AND FRENCH ARMS

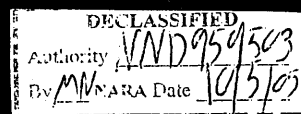
REF: ADDIS 6466, 6481

1. INFO COMMISSIONER ENAHORO IS CURRENTLY IN LONDON, OSTENSIBLY TO EXCHANGE VIEWS WITH BRITISH ON NIGERIAN SITUATION, ACTUALLY TO PRESS BRITISH FOR NEW SHIPMENTS OF MILITARY HARDWARE. FONOFF'S TEBBIT (ASSISTANT UNDERSECRETARY) TELLS US THAT ENAHORO HAS REQUESTED AIRCRAFT, ARMoured VEHICLES, WEAPONS AND AMMUNITION. BRITISH HAVE TOLD HIM THEY CANNOT PROVIDE AIRCRAFT, WHICH IN ANY CASE THEY DOUBT FMG REALLY NEEDS. THEY WILL HOWEVER DO THEIR BEST TO FURNISH REASONABLE QUANTITIES WEAPONS REPLACEMENTS AND AMMO. DEPENDING AVAILABILITY, TEBBIT ALSO BELIEVES BRITISH WILL SUPPLY LIMITED NUMBER SPC'S, INCLUDING FEW MORE SALADINE. HE COMMENTS THAT IN VIEW CONTINUED FLOW OF ARMS TO BIAFRA, FMG IS ANXIOUS TO BE AS FORTHCOMING AS POSSIBLE WITH NIGERIANS. BRITISH ARE STILL RELUCTANT, TO FURNISH "OFFENSIVE" WEAPONS, SUCH AS STRIKE AIRCRAFT.

2. TEBBIT REQUESTS WE TREAT FOREGOING INFO ON STRICTLY NO FORN BASIS. BRITISH ARE NERVOUS LEST PRESS SPECULATION ABOUT NEW FMG ARMS REQUESTS LEAD TO RENEWED PARLIAMENTARY ATTACKS ON

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LONDON 14192 081934Z

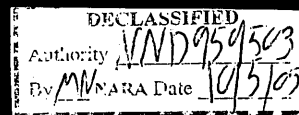
GOVT. THEY ARE TRYING TO KEEP WHOLE SUBJECT UNDER WRAPS AS LONG AS POSSIBLE.

3. WE ACQUAINTED TEBBIT WITH RESULTS AMB HALL'S AUDIENCE WITH EMPEROR NOV 6 AND CALL ON PRIMIN AKLILLOU NOV 5 (REFTELS). HE SAID PRIMIN WILSON HAD SPOKEN THIS MORNING TO ENAHARO AND TOLD HIM IN FRANK TERMS THAT FMG MUST TAKE LEAD WITH OTHER AFRICAN STATES IF EFFECTIVE PRESSURE IS TO BE BROUGHT ON FRENCH TO CEASE INTERVENING IN NIGERIAN CONFLICT. WILSON EMPHASIZED THAT FMG COULD NOT EXPECT OTHER STATES TO SPEAK UP TO FRENCH AS LONG AS NIGERIANS THEMSELVES SHOWED SO LITTLE INTEREST. IF FMG WISHED OAU TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT FRENCH ARMS SHIPMENTS, IT SHOULD BEGIN NOW TO DISCUSS WITH FRIENDLY AFRICAN STATES STEPS TO BE TAKEN. WILSON'S STATEMENTS HAD MADE SOME IMPRESSION ON ENAHARO AND HE WAS HOPEFUL NIGERIANS WOULD BEGIN TO PLAY MORE ACTIVE DIPLOMATIC ROLE VIS A VIS FRENCH.

4. TEBBIT SAID FONMIN USHER OF IVORY COAST WILL BE IN UK NEXT WEEK ON DEFERRED VISIT. BRITISH REALIZE IT WILL BE UP HILL WORK BUT THEY INTEND TO TALK TO HIM ABOUT IMPLICATIONS OF GOIC'S SUPPORT FOR BIAFRA. THEIR THESIS WILL BE THAT ASSISTANCE TO BIAFRA AT PRESENT TIME CAN ONLY PROLONG CONFLICT WITHOUT CHANGING ITS OUTCOME. STATES WHICH RECOGNIZE BIAFRA HAVE SPECIAL OBLIGATION TO PERSUADE OJUKWU TO SEEK NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IN CONTEXT ONE NIGERIA. BRUCE

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By MMNARA Date 10/5/03

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PAGE 01 ADDIS 06481 071345Z

41
ACTION SS 70

INFO CIAE 00,1070 W

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R 071100Z NOV 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7567
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LIMDIS

FROM AMBASSADOR

SUBJ: HIM COMMENTS ON NIGERIA

REF: ADDIS 6466 - *POL 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria*

1. DURING AUDJENCE WITH HIM NOV 6, I RAISED SUBJ OF NIGERIA ALONG LINES DEPARTMENT'S GUIDANCE. HIM SAID PRESIDENT TUBMAN HAD SUGGESTED OAU CONCOM MEETING IN MONROVIA. HIM THOUGHT GOOD IDEA IF PRELIMINARY EXPLORATIONS SHOWED HOPE OF REAL ACCOMPLISHMENT. HE SAID THEY HAD BEEN INDIRECTLY EXPLORING WITH BOTH SIDES POSSIBILITIES FOR NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AND WERE HOPEFUL DEVELOPMENTS OVER NEXT FEW WEEKS MIGHT FURNISH BASIS FOR SUCH A MEETING.

CONFIDENTIAL

Addis, October 6 1968

0763

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Authority *VND959503*
By *MW* NARA Date *10/5/05*



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 06481 071345Z

2. HIM SAID OJUKWU HAD RECENTLY INDIRECTLY INDICATED DESIRE MEET PERSONALLY WITH HIM. HIM HAD REPLIED THROUGH SAME CHANNEL HE WAS WILLING TO GO ANYWHERE TO MEET OJUKWU IF HE WERE WILLING ENTER SERIOUS TALKS, BUT HAD RECEIVED NO RESPONSE. HIM FELT IT TRAGIC THAT ARMS SUPPLIES CONTINUE GO BOTH SIDES NIGERIAN CONFLICT. ARMS SUPPLIES MERELY RESULT MORE KILLING, WITH NO SUFFERING FOR SUPPLIERS. HE SAID ETHIOPIAN OAU OBSERVER BRIG GEN NEGA HAD WRITTEN HIM PERSONAL LETTERS WHICH WERE MORE DEPRESSING IN THEIR DESCRIPTION OF CONDITIONS IN BIAFRA AND FMG-LIBERATED AREAS THAN OFFICIAL PUBLIC REPORTS OF OBSERVERS. NEGA HAD FELT PICTURE OF KILLING, PRIVATION AND SUFFERING OF POPULATION NOT USEFUL IN PUBLISHED REPORTS, BUT HE URGED HIM EXERT ALL MEASURES BRING WAR TO STOP. HIM SAID IF HE HAD POWER HALT WAR, WOULD DO SO TOMORROW, BUT COULD ONLY SEEK TO PERSUADE.

3. HIM THOUGHT OJUKWU HAD COME TO REGRET NOT HAVING ACCEPTED HIM'S PROPOSALS DURING ADDIS TALKS. HIM HAD PLEADED WITH OJUKWU WHEN HE WAS IN ADDIS IN AUGUST TO GIVE HIM BIAFRA'S MINIMUM DEMANDS. HIM HAD PROMISED TO KEEP THEM COMPLETELY CONFIDENTIAL AND TO ENDEAVOR ARRANGE SETTLEMENT ON THAT BASIS, BUT OJUKWU HAD REFUSED. HIM SAID GOWON, ON THE OTHER HAND, HAD BEEN REASONABLE AND HONEST TO DEAL WITH, READY TO MAKE CONCESSIONS IN INTEREST OF SETTLEMENT.

4. I ASKED HIM IF THERE WAS ANYTHING HE WOULD SUGGEST THAT US MIGHT CONSIDER DOING TO ASSIST OAU AT THIS POINT. HIM THOUGHT THERE WAS NOTHING. SAID IT WAS BETTER FOR TIME BEING TO LET QUIET EXPLORATIONS NOW IN PROCESS RUN THEIR COURSE. HE REGRETTED ARMS SUPPLY BY SOVIETS, BRITISH AND FRENCH, BUT COULD SEE NO WAY TO STOP THIS FLOW AT PRESENT. FRENCH DID NOT EVEN ADMIT ARMS BEING SENT.

YOST

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By <i>MV NARA</i> Date <i>10/5/05</i>

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I N C O M I N G

TOP SECRET

Screener MS

POST ADDIS ABABA

(Time Received)

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1968 NOV 7 AM 9 32

DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT

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Geographic

Other

S/S-S 1
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MilRep 1
Summary 1
Task Force 1

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Functional

Principals

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OTHER AGENCIES

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0765

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

SECRET

Classification

282954

ONLY

6 DEC 68 00 37 Z

Origin

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY

Info:

STATE _____

EXDIS/NOFORN

Coderoom: Repeat ~~XXXXX~~ London 14898 to Amembassy LAGOS.

GP-1

END

RUSK

(1)

Drafted by:

AF/W:RPSmith:emb 12/5/68

Tel. Ext.
8711

Telegraphic transmission and
classification approved by:

Roy M. Melbourne

Nigeria Task Force

Clearances:

S/S - Mr. Brown

RMB

SECRET

Classification

FORM DS-322
8-65

0766

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Authority *VND 959503*
By *MW* Date *10/5/03*

The seal of the United States Department of State, featuring an eagle with wings spread, holding an olive branch and arrows, with a shield on its chest. Above the eagle is a constellation of stars. The words "DEPARTMENT OF STATE" are arched above the eagle, and "UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" is arched below it.

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 268

PAGE 01 STATE 282954

81
ORIGIN SS: 10

INFO. / 010 R

DRAFTED BY:AF/W:RP SMITH
APPROVED BY:NIGERIA TASK FORCE:RM MELBOURNE.
S/S:MR. BROWN

013151

P 060037Z DEC 68
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY

S E C R E T STATE 282954

EXDIS:

NOFORN

FOLLOWING TEL SENT ACTION SECSTATE FROM LONDON DATED 05 DEC 68.

QUOTE LONDON 14898

EXDIS/NOFORN

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN CRISIS: BRITISH CONSIDER NEW PEACE INITIATIVES

REF: STATE'S 282243

1. YESTERDAY AFTERNOON (DEC. 4) BEFORE RECEIPT REFTEL, WE WERE INVITED BY FONOFF'S PARLIAMENTARY UNDER SECTY, MAURICE FOLEY, TO DISCUSS NEW INITIATIVES TO END NIGERIAN CONFLICT BEING ACTIVELY CONSIDERED BY BRITISH. SIR LESLIE MONSON (DEPUTY UNDER SECTY) AND DONALD TEBBIT (ASST UNDER SECTY) WERE ALSO PRESENT. IN COURSE OF CONVERSATION, WHICH COVERED MAIN POINTS OF INTEREST TO DEPT, WE PROVIDED FOLEY, MONSON AND TEBBIT WITH COPIES OF UNDER SECTY'S BROWN UNIVERSITY SPEECH.

2. FOLEY SAID GOVT WAS AGAIN BEGINNING TO FEEL STING OF PARLIAMENTARY CRITICISM OF ARMS SUPPLY POLICY. OPPOSITION LEADERS WERE CALLING FOR NEW BRITISH INITIATIVES TO END FIGHTING (LONDON'S 14830) AND BACKBENCH HECKLING WAS INCREASING

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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FROM BOTH SIDES OF HOUSE. SOME MEMBERS WERE CALLING FOR FULL-SCALE DEBATE BEFORE CHRISTMAS. AT SAME TIME, CHANCE THAT FMG WOULD ACHIEVE DECISIVE MILITARY VICTORY OVER BIAFRANS IN NEAR FUTURE LOOKED MORE AND MORE REMOTE. PLANS FOR "FINAL PUSH" WERE UNDER DISCUSSION IN LAGOS, AND NIGERIAN MILITARY COMMANDERS TALKED BRAVELY ABOUT GAINING CONTROL OF ULI AIRFIELD IN NEXT FMG OFFENSIVE, BUT BRITS WERE SKEPTICAL. AS TEBBIT TOLD US LAST MONTH (LONDON'S 17432) HMG WAS BEING AS FORTHCOMING AS POSSIBLE IN MEETING NIGERIAN REQUESTS FOR AMMO AND WEAPONS REPLACEMENTS. BRITISH NEVERTHELESS SAW NO PROSPECT FOR EARLY END TO HOSTILITIES AS LONG AS ESSENTIAL MILITARY SUPPLIES FLOWED TO BIAFRANS.

3. FOR ALL THESE REASONS PRIMIN BELIEVED GOVT SHOULD DISPLAY CONSPICUOUS ZEAL IN SEARCH FOR PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. BRITISH HAD DONE GREAT DEAL TO ENCOURAGE FMG TO ADOPT FLEXIBLE STANCE, AND BEHIND SCENES HAD PROMOTED NUMEROUS INITIATIVES TO BRING TWO SIDES TOGETHER. ONLY THING THEY HAD NOT YET DONE WAS TALK TO OJUKWU AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL AND TRY PERSUADE HIM TO NEGOTIATE IN GOOD FAITH. IT WAS THIS IDEA THAT WAS PRESENTLY BEING ACTIVELY CONSIDERED BY BRITISH GOVT.

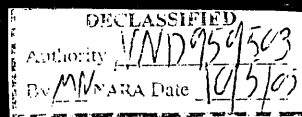
4. BEFORE COMMITTING THEMSELVES TO MEETING WITH OJUKWU, BRITISH WANTED, IF POSSIBLE, TO DISARM FMG OBJECTIONS AND TO LAY PRELIMINARY GROUNDWORK WITH BIAFRANS. IN FURTHERANCE OF LATTER, BRITISH WERE EMPLOYING TWO CHANNELS TO OJUKWU. ONE WAS THROUGH BISHOP OF PORT HARCOURT WHO HAD ASSURED THEM OJUKWU WOULD BE GLAD TO MEET BRITISH MINISTER, BUT ONLY IN BIAFRA. SECOND CHANNEL, WHICH FONOFF THOUGHT MIGHT BE MORE RELIABLE, WAS THROUGH IVORY COAST'S UN REP AKE WHO MET WITH FOLEY, LORD SHEPHERD AND TEBBIT NOV. 20 IN FOLLOW-UP TO EARLIER VISIT GOIC FONMIN USHER.

5. AKE SAID THAT ALTHOUGHT BRITAIN AND IVORY COAST SAW NIGERIAN CONFLICT IN DIFFERENT LIGHT THEY BOTH WANTED BLOOD-SHED TO CEASE AND SOVIET INFLUENCE TO SHRINK. HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY WAS THEREFORE WILLING FOR IVORY COAST TO ACT AS INTERMEDIARY TO BRING ABOUT NEGOTIATIONS. ACCORDING AKE, IVORY COAST HAD REASON TO BELIEVE OJUKWU WAS WILLING TO MEET BRITISH MINISTER. HOUPHOUET WOULD FORWARD SPECIFIC PROPOSAL TO OJUKWU BUT NEEDED TO KNOW FROM BRITISH (A) WHO WOULD PARTICIPATE FROM THEIR SIDE; (B) WHERE MEETING COULD TAKE

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PAGE 03 STATE 282954

PLACE (IVORY COAST WAS POSSIBILITY); (C) WHAT AGENDA WOULD BE;
(D) HOW BRITS ENVISAGED COMPROMISE SETTLEMENT.

6. FOLEY TOLD AKE THAT BRITISH WANTED DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO PRODUCE PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, BUT COULD NOT THEMSELVES NEGOTIATE FOR FMG. BRITS VISUALIZED TALKS PROCEEDING IN THREE STAGES: BRITISH MINISTER WOULD MEET WITH OJUKWU; HE WOULD THEN MEET WITH GOWON AND, IF ALL WENT WELL, DIRECT NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN OJUKWU AND GOWON WOULD FOLLOW. AKE SAID HE WOULD REPORT BRITISH REACTION TO HOUPHOUET SO THAT IVORY COAST LEADER COULD PONDER NEXT STEPS. FOLEY EXPECTED SOME FURTHER WORD FROM AKE WITHIN NEXT FEW DAYS. HE DID NOT KNOW WHETHER CHANNEL WOULD BRING RESULTS, BUT THOUGHT GOIC WOULD BE UNLIKELY TO PROMOTE MEETING WITHOUT FRENCH APPROVAL AND INITIATIVE WAS THEREFORE WORTH PURSUING.

7. MEANWHILE, FONOFF WAS DRAFTING INSTRUCTIONS TO SIR DAVID HUNT TO TAKE TEMPERATURE IN LAGOS. HUNT WAS TO EXPLAIN TO GOWON ADVANTAGES HMG SAW IN BRITISH MINISTER'S MEETING OJUKWU AND TO REASSURE HIM THAT, IF MEETING MATERIALIZED, BRITISH WOULD EMPHASIZE TO OJUKWU THAT SETTLEMENT HAD TO BE WITHIN CONTEXT ONE NIGERIA. FOLEY OBSERVED THAT WHILE FMG'S VIEWS WOULD BE TAKEN INTO CONSIDERATION, FINAL DECISION ON WHETHER BRITISH MINISTER WOULD MEET OJUKWU WAS HMG'S TO MAKE.

8. REFERRING TO VARIOUS UNOFFICIAL INITIATIVES BEING UNDERTAKEN BY MP'S AND OTHERS INTERESTED IN NIGERIAN SITUATION, FOLEY SAID LORD BROCKWAY AND JAMES GRIFFITHS (LONDON'S 14830) HAD CHECKED WITH FONOFF BEFORE GOING TO SAO TOME. THEY HAD RECEIVED BIAFRAN ASSURANCES OF TRANSPORT FROM SAO TOME AND MEETING WITH OJUKWU. IF ALL WENT AS PLANNED, THEY WOULD RETURN TO LONDON NEXT WEEK AND REPORT ON OJUKWU'S ATTITUDE. TRIP OF FORMER CW SECTY ARTHUR BOTTOMLEY TO LAGOS WAS HIS OWN IDEA AND WAS FINANCED BY UK BUSINESS FIRM WITH WHICH HE ASSOCIATED.

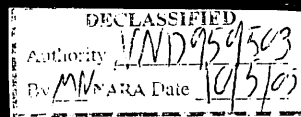
9. DEPT REPEAT OTHER POSTS AS DESIRED. BRUCE

UNQUOTE GP-1. RUSK

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 731

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ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, ACDA 16, SAH 02, SA 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02,
INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, NSA 02, SR 01
ORM 03, AID 28, MC 01, NIC 01, RSR 01/170 W

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FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7556
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA
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USMISSION GENEVA
AMCONSUL IBADAN
AMCONSUL KADUNA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
USUN NEW YORK 444
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
CINCSTRIKE/CINCMEAFSA

CONFIDENTIAL ADDIS ABABA 6466

SUBJ: NIGERIA PEACE RUMORS

REF: LAGOS 14206

1. DURING CALL ON PRIME MINISTER AKLILLOU NOV 5, ALSO
ATTENDED BY FONMIN KETEMA AND FINMIN YILMA, I ASKED
PM STATUS OAU CONSIDERATION NIGERIAN PROBLEM AND PLANS
FOR ACTION BY OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE. ALSO ASKED
PM WHETHER HE HAD DISCUSSED NIGERIA WITH FRENCH DURING
HIS RECENT VISIT PARIS.

2. FONMIN KETEMA SAID HIM WAS CONSIDERING CALLING NEW
MEETING OF CONCOM OR POSSIBILITY OF SENDING CONCOM SUB-

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Authority VMD 950503
By MVA Date 10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 06466 061731Z

COMMITTEE TO NIGERIA TO TALK WITH GOWON AND OJUKWU IN INTEREST OF URGING PEACE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN TWO PARTIES. KETEMA SAID NOTHING HAD BEEN DECIDED, HOWEVER, AND THERE WAS NO RPT NO PLAN FOR ACTION BY CONCOM OR SUBCOMMITTEE AT PRESENT.

3. YILMA SAID HE HAD HEARD REPORT OJUKWU PREPARED TO ENTER PEACE NEGOTIATIONS WITH FMG. AKLILLOU SAID HE WAS SKEPTICAL ABOUT THESE REPORTS. SAID HE WOULD NOT IN ANY EVENT RECOMMEND TO HIM THAT HE CALL AMOTHER MEETING OF CONCOM UNLESS HE SURE OF PROSPECT FOR SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS AND CHANCE OF SUCCESS. HE SAID LAST PROLONGED SESSION OF CONCOM TALKS IN ADDIS HAD BEEN TOO TIRING FOR HIM AND ALL-CONSUMING OF IEG TIME AND ENERGY TO UNDERTAKE EFFORT AGAIN UNLESS THERE WERE CLEAR CHANCE OF CONCRETE ACCOMPLISHMENT.

4. AKLILLOU SAID HE HAD DISCUSSED NIGERIA WITH COUVE DE MURVILLE IN PARIS, EXPLAINING IEG AND OAU POSITION AND ASKING FRENCH ATTITUDES. REPORTED FRENCH INDICATED THEY COULD ACCEPT NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT BASED ON FEDERATION CONCEPT. AKLILLOU SAID HE TOLD FRENCH SUCH SETTLEMENT WOULD ALSO BE ACCEPTABLE TO MANY AFRICANS. HE FELT NO DIFFERENCE WITH FRENCH RE THIS POINT.

5. AKLILLOU SAID HE SPECIFICALLY ASKED FRENCH IF THEY WERE GIVING OR SELLING ARMS TO BIAFRA. FRENCH CATEGORICALLY DENIED EITHER GRANT OR SALE OF ARMS. WHILE HIGHLY SKEPTICAL OF FRENCH ASSERTION, AKLIKOU FELT IT WOULD BE USELESS TO ATTEMPT FURTHER DISCUSSION ARMS QUESTION WITH FRENCH, SINCE THEY WOULD SIMPLY CONTINUE DENY INVOLVEMENT.

HALL

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By MWA Date 10/5/03

POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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5 DEC 68 01 26 z

Origin

ACTION: Amembassy LONDON PRIORITY

Info:

INFO: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY

STATE

EXDIS

SUBJECT: Nigerian Crisis

1. We are very privately considering possibility new initiatives in Nigerian situation, recognizing that arms inflow into rebel area is prolonging war and is therefore crux of problem. Negotiated settlement providing just and workable guarantees of Ibo protection in united Nigeria remains our goal. But unless war ends soon - and this may depend upon arms assistance to rebels being substantially reduced - even our best relief efforts may not be able to prevent large-scale famine in Biafra.
2. We do not propose taking any specific action now and in any case would consult London thoroughly before doing so. In light TDCS 314/17860-68, it at least possible that HMG may already be taking some quiet action.
3. You should urgently explore British plans and intentions at appropriately high level HMG. We would appreciate current reading of UK view developments in war and what steps, if any, they may be taking or considering. We of course continue to believe that British have special role to play in Nigerian crisis. We would not wish consider any USG action that might cut across British initiative.

GP-1

END

RUSK

Drafted by:

AF/W:RPSmith:INR/RAF:OLTroxel:emb

Tel. Ext.
8711

Telegraphic transmission and
classification approved by:

Roy M. Melbourne

Nigeria Task Force

Clearances:

U - Mr. Heymann (subs) AF - Ambassador Moore
S/S - Mr. Shepard

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FORM DS-322
8-65

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Authority: VMD 954563
By: MW NARA Date: 10/5/00

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S/S-O	<u>11</u>	Date <u>12-4-68</u>	
PRINCIPALS		GEOGRAPHIC BUREAUS	
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G	<u>7</u>	EUR	
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G/PM		OTHER AGENCIES	
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S/AL	<u>24</u>	Vice President	<u>25</u>
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POL 27-14 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

Department of State

TELEGRAM

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11-5-68
14206

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ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, ID 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,

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INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA
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AMEMBASSY LONDON
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AMEMBASSY PARIS
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USMISSION GENEVA
CINCSRIKE/CINCMCAFSA UNN
DIA
AMCONSUL IBADAN
AMCONSUL KADUNA

UNCLAS LAGOS 14206

SUBJECT: - PEACE RUMORS

1. RADIO KINSHASA (FBIS N041540) REPORTS OAU QTE INTENSIFYING EFFORTS TO BRING END TO NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR. UNQTE REPORTS RUMORS THAT CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE TO MEET IN MONROVIA AT END OF MONTH AND THAT IT HAS QTE ALREADY HAD CONTACT WITH FEDERAL AND BIAFRAN GOVERNMENTS (WHICH) ARE FAVORABLE TO NEW NEGOTIATIONS. UNQTE BROADCAST THEN STATES THAT OJUKWU RECENTLY TOLD PRESS CONFERENCE BIAFRANS PREPARED TO NEGOTIATE ANYTIME, ANYWHERE AND GOWON ALSO EXPRESSES READINESS TO NEGOTIATE AFTER HIS RETURN FROM NIGER VISIT (LAGOS 14164).

2. NORTHERN NIGERIA RADIO (FBIS N041545) HOWEVER REPORTS THAT OJUKWU QTE HAS AGAIN DISMISSED IDEA OF ANY PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT...

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Authority VMD 9503
By MNA Date 10/5/02



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 14206 051259Z

IN STATEMENT PURPORTED TO HAVE BEEN DELIVERED TO PRESS IN UMUHIA
YESTERDAY (NOV 3)...STATEMENT CAME AS NEWS OF FRESH MOVE TO END
NIGERIAN CRISIS WAS GAINING GROUND IN LAGOS AND SOME AFRICAN
CAPITALS. UNQTE
MATHEWS

UNCLASSIFIED

0775

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 959503
By	MNARA Date 10/5/03

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

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LIMDIS

*Intelligence
Note*

October 27, 1967

To : The Secretary
Through: S/S
From : INR - Thomas L. Hughes *TH*
Subject: NIGERIA: A New Round of Peace Talks?

Emperor Haile Selassie's current attempt to bring the warring Nigerian factions to the conference table under the auspices of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) seems likely to succeed since neither side wishes to tarnish its international image by refusing to negotiate. Neither Federal Commander-in-Chief General Yakubu Gowon, nor Biafran leader Colonel C.O. Ojukwu, however, is yet ready to make concessions which might lead to a peaceful settlement in the 16-month-old Nigerian civil war. Even so, a continuing OAU effort could open and keep open a channel of communication which either side might use to signal changes in its negotiating position.

Biafra Still Demands... Though a handful of Biafran diplomats have privately advocated a negotiated surrender, Biafran leader Ojukwu still commands overwhelming Ibo support for his hard-line policy of armed resistance. He insists that Biafran sovereignty is not negotiable and refuses to discuss a ceasefire except on the basis of Federal withdrawal from Biafran territory. Ojukwu is apparently convinced that the recent, substantially increased airlift of arms--some of them indirectly supplied by France--foreshadows massive outside intervention which will enable Biafra to enforce a military stalemate and eventually to negotiate from a position of strength.

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his report was produced by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Aside from normal substantive exchange with other agencies at the working level, has not been coordinated elsewhere.

POL 27 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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XX POL 30 AU*

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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10-23-68
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ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, NSA 02, ACDA 16, AID 28, PC 04, RSR 01, SAH 02,

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3217
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA UNN
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AMEMBASSY KINSHASA UNN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA UNN
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY UNN
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE UNN
AMCONSUL IBADAN
AMCONSUL KADUNA
USMISSION GENEVA
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UNCLAS LAGOS 13842

USIA FOR IBS

SUBJ NIGERIAN PRESS ROUNDUP OCTOBER 23

DAILY SKETCH HEADLINES STORY CITING QTE AUTHORITATIVE SOURCES
UNQTE WHICH RECENT QTE SPECULATION IN SOME DIPLOMATIC CIRCLES
IN LAGOS AND SOME AFRICAN CAPITALS (ABOUT) ANOTHER ROUND OF PEACE
TALKS BETWEEN FMG AND REBELS (AS) MOST IMPOSSIBLE AT THIS STAGE OF
WAR. UNQTE ARTICLE CLAIMS RECENT VISITS OF DIALLO TELLI TO LAGOS
FOLLOWED BY HIS VISITS TO ACCRA AND MONROVIA SET OFF SPECULATION
OF A NEW OAU ATTEMPT TO SETTLE WAR. ARTICLE CITES RECALCITRANCE
OF REBELS IN RENOUNCING SECESSION, WHICH IS QTE ONE OF CONDITIONS
PUT FORWARD UNQTE BY FMG FOR END TO HOSTILITIES, AS STUMBLING BLOCK.
ALSO MENTIONS QTE SPECULATIONS SOME TIME AGO THAT FEDERAL TROOPS

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 13842 231956Z

MIGHT JUST STAY WITHIN ARTILLERY RANGE OF UMUAHIA -- LAST TOWN IN
(REBEL) HANDS -- WAITING FOR POSSIBILITY OF SOMEBODY EMERGING FROM
THERE TO ANNOUNCE SURRENDER OF REBELS. UNQTE.
MATHEWS

NNN

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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4

CONFIDENTIAL 957

PAGE 01 YAOUND 02297 190712Z

12
ACTION AF 16

INFO SS 25, GPM 04, IO 13, SAH 02, L 03, P 04, USIA 12, INR 07, CIAE 00,

NSA 02, AID 28, RSC 01, RSR 01, NSC 10, /128 W

012262

R 181601Z OCT 68
FM AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
TO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 2550

CONFIDENTIAL YAOUNDE 2297

REF: ADDIS 6171

POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

MESSAGE PASSED PAUL BIYA, MINISTER-SECRETARY GENERAL OF
PRESIDENCY, FOR TRANSMITTAL PRESIDENT AHIDJO, AT 1530
HOURS: GMT 18 OCT.

GP-4. PARKER

*yaounde 2297
10-18-68*

CONFIDENTIAL

0779

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/03

37



POL 2714 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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22

CONFIDENTIAL: 672

PAGE 01 NIAMEY 02732 181710Z

45

ACTION AF 16

INFO SS 25, INR 07, EUR 15, SSO 00, MM 01, CCO 00, RSR 01, RSC 01, OC 06,

/072 W

007851

O 181510Z OCT 68

FM AMEMBASSY NIAMEY

TO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE

INFO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2352

C O N F I D E N T I A L NIAMEY 2733

REF: ADDIS ABABA 6168 - *Re 27 Bifra - Nigeria*

1. PRESIDENT DIORI STILL IN EUROPE, PROBABLY IN PARIS OR SOUTHERN FRANCE, BUT EXPECTED RETURN NIAMEY ABOUT OCTOBER 23.

2. PLEASE ADVISE WHETHER YOU PREFER WE WAIT UNTIL DIORI RETURNS TO TRANSMIT MESSAGE OR WHETHER UNDER CIRCUMSTANCES YOU MAY WISH REPEAT REFTEL TO AMEMB PARIS FOR POSSIBLE TRANSMITTAL DIORI. (GON LACKS FACILITIES SEND SAFE MESSAGES ABROAD).

ADAMS

*Niamey 2733
10-18-68*

RECORDED BY 25/2

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By	MW/ARA
Date	10/5/03

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POL 2714 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

32

CONFIDENTIAL 355

PAGE 01 ABIDJA 04646 181357Z

42

ACTION AF 16

INFO SS 25, INR 07, RSR 01, RSC 01, /050 W

006626

R 181215Z OCT 68
FM AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
TO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC 3117

C O N F I D E N T I A L ABIDJAN 4646

REF: ADDIS 6167 - *Pol 2714 BIAFRA-NIGERIA*

MESSAGE DELIVERED ETHIOPIAN CHARGE DEBEBE 1015 HOURS GMT
OCTOBER 18. HE PROMISES DELIVER PROMPTLY TO PRESIDENCY.
GP-3 MORGAN

*Abidjan 4646
10-18-68*

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0781

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Authority VND 950/503
By MNARA Date 10/5/05

66



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

*Adeline Chaka
10-18-68
6900*

CONFIDENTIAL 019

PAGE 01 ADDIS 06200 190724Z

20-S
ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 0

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, NSA 02, RSR 01, SAH 02, AID 28, SR 01,

ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 02, ACDA 16, MC 01, 174 W

012276

R 181610Z OCT 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7388
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 6200

REF: ADDIS 6173 (NOTAL)

1. SAW OAU SEC GEN DIALLO TELLI THIS MORNING PER REFTEL.
WE SPENT SOME TIME ON NIGERIA AND PARTICULARLY ON NEXT
STEPS OAU NOW PLANNING. HE APPEARS BE WORKING CLOSELY
WITH IEG ON THIS QUESTION. AFTER TELLING ME ABOUT
MESSAGES SENT BY HIM YESTERDAY TO GOWON AND OJUKWU (URGING

PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO SECESSION AND ASKING FOR
THEIR SUGGESTIONS ON THIS ISSUE--ADDIS 6167-6172, 6177
NOTAL), TELL SAID HE WAS DRAFTING SECOND SET OF
MESSAGES FOR HIM TO SEND CON YOMM HEADS OF STATE.
THESE MESSAGES WOULD PROPOSE THAT REPRESENT-
ATIVES OF SIX COUNTRIES GO TOGETHER TO BIAFRA TO PRESS
OJUKWU TO SEEK NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT CONFLICT EARLIEST
POSSIBLE TIME. EMPHASIS WOULD BE ON OVERWHELMINGLY
NEGATIVE WEIGHT OF AFRICAN OPINION AND ON OJUKWU'S
RESPONSIBILITY PREVENT FURTHER SUFFERING TO HIS PEOPLE.

POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 06200 190724Z

CONSIDERATION ALSO BEING GIVEN TO EFFORT ARRANGE APPROACH TO OJUKWU BY CANADIAN AND UN OBSERVERS NOW IN NIGERIA IN ATTEMPT BRING HOME TO HIM POSITIVE FINDINGS OF OBSERVER TEAMS, IN PARTICULAR CONCERNING GENOCIDE CLAIM AND TREATMENT IBO POPULATION.

2. TELLI RECOGNIZES THAT THERE IS NOT MUCH HOLT IN SUCH APPROACHES WHICH DO NOT DIFFER GREATLY IN NATURE FROM NUMEROUS PREVIOUS EFFORTS. HE FELT HOWEVER SUCH EFFORTS MORALLY ESSENTIAL BEFORE FINAL MILITARY EFFORT UNDERTAKEN. WOULD STRENGTHEN MODERATE ELEMENTS IN BIAFRA AND AT

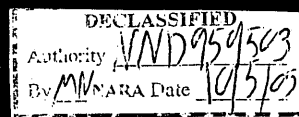
SAME TIME PROVIDE COUNTERWEIGHT IN WORLD OPINION TO WHAT WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY BE DIFFICULT AND BLOODY MILITARY OPERATION. IN MEANTIME, FMG CAPTURE OF ULI UHIALI AIRFIELD, ON WHICH FEDERAL TROOPS NOW CONCENTRATING, WOULD GREATLY INCREASE PRESSURE ON OJUKWU.

3. TELLI SAID FMG BECOMING INCREASINGLY UNHAPPY ABOUT ICRC NIGHT FLIGHTS AND ANXIOUS SEE THEM REPLACED BY DAYLIGHT RUNS. PRINCIPAL PROBLEM CONTINUES TO BE TAILGATING OF ICRC FLTS BY ACFT OUT OF SAO TOME AND LIBREVILLE CARRYING ARMS AND SUPPLIES FOR REBELS. SAID THAT THREE ICRC PLANES FLYING OUT OF FERNANDO PO NIGHTLY ARE REGULARLY ACCOMPANIED BY NBR OTHER ACFT (HE MENTIONED UP TO TOTAL 20) BY TIME THEY ARE OVER NIGERIA. NO INDICATION HE BELIEVED IN ANY WAY THAT ICRC PLANES THEMSELVES ARE CARRYING MILITARY ITEMS. I MADE POINT TO HIM SEVERAL TIMES THAT IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY UNFORTUNATE IF NIGHT FLTS WERE ENDED WITHOUT SUBSTITUTION OTHER CHANNELS OF DELIVERY WHICH WOULD PERMIT CONTINUED FLOW RELIEF SUPPLIES. CUTTING OFF RELIEF GOODS

WOULD UNDO MOST IF NOT ALL GAINS MADE BY FMG BEFORE WORLD OPINION IN LAST FEW WEEKS AND WOULD AGAIN CREATE SUBSTANTIAL DOMESTIC DIFFICULTIES FOR WESTERN SUPPORTERS FMG. TELLI SEEMED TO TAKE THE POINT. HE WAS COOL IN HIS COMMENTS ON ICRC. HOWEVER, DESPITE WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS GOOD PERSONAL RELATIONS WITH LINDT. SAYS HE IS TRYING TO ENCOURAGE NATIONAL RED CROSS UNITS IN AFRICAN COUNTRIES TO PLAY GREATER ROLE IN NIGERIA.

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0783





Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 03 ADDIS 06200 190724Z

4. DIALLO TELLI RECEIVED ME QUITE EFFUSIVELY--IN CONTRAST TO PREVIOUS VISITS. AGAIN EXPRESSED INTEREST IN BEING TUTORED IN ENGLISH BY SOMEONE FROM AMERICAN EMBASSY (AN EARLIER EFFORT HAD ABORTED BECAUSE OF LACK OF TIME HIS PART); INQUIRED ABOUT PURCHASING AMERICAN CAR FOR HIS OFFICIAL USE; AND OTHERWISE WENT UNCHARACTERISTICALLY OUT OF HIS WAY TO BE PLEASANT.

5. HE ALSO SAID HE WILL SOON GIVE ME FORMAL MESSAGE THANKS FOR SECRETARY'S MESSAGE.

HALL

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05

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Pol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

48

SECRET 414

PAGE 01 ADDIS 06173 180012Z

ACTION SS 70

INFO CIAE 00, /070 W

002856

R 171545Z OCT 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7374
INFO AMEMBASSY BANGUI
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LOME
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

S E C R E T ADDIS ABABA 6173

LIMDIS

YAOUNDE PASS PALMER

REFS: A. BANGUI 1615 B. ADDIS 6167 (NOTAL)

1. HAVE APPOINTMENT SEE TELLI TOMORROW AM REVIEW
RESULTS ALGIERS, NIGERIA TALKS, INTRODUCE YOST.

2. YESFAYE IN REQUESTING US SEND MESSAGES TO CONSULTATIVE
COMMITTEE MEMBERS (REF B) SAID HE WOULD WISH DISCUSS SUB-
STANCE NEXT STEPS IN FEW DAYS AFTER IEG HAD
FORMULATED IDEAS. IF WE FIND
TELLI DETERMINED CAUSE TROUBLE, HIM AND IEG MAY
BE MOST EFFECTIVE CENSORS.

HALL

RECEIVED 01 05/0

SECRET

0785

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By MW NARA Date 10/5/03

*Addis Ababa 6173
10/17/68*

Pol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria

L I M D I S
I N C O M I N G

TOP SECRET

Screener 243

POST Addis Ababa

(Time Received)

SERIAL 6123

OCT 17 PM 11 34

DISTRIBUTION

MONTHLY COUNT 310

Secretariat

Geographic

Other

S/S-S 1
S/S-O 1
S/S-Screener 3
S/S-EX
S/S-CMS
S/S-O DIR
MilRep
Summary
Task Force

AF5 X 5
ARA 9
EA 11
EUR 9 ✓ 91
NEA 8

ACDA 5
AID/EXSEC 3
AA/AFR2
AA/VN 2
AA/EA 3
AA/NESA 2

Functional

Principals

CU
E 2
H ✓ 1
IGA
INR 6 ✓ 6
IO 4
L 2
O 3
OPR
OC
SY
WLG
P 2 ✓ 2
SCA
SCS
SCI

PC
VP
AEC 3
AGR 3
COM 2
EXIM
FRB
LAB
NASA
NIC
STR
TRANS
TRSY 6
JUS
IRS
INT
BOB
FBI
CEA
FAA

ES 2 ✓
S
U ✓ 4
M 2
G ✓
SIG ✓ 1
S/AH 3
S/AL
SA
S/CPR
S/GOV
S/IL
S/P
S/R ✓ 1
S/FW
S/PM
M/WP
G/PM

OTHER AGENCIES

WH 10 ✓ 10
CIA P
DOD
USIA 4 ✓ 4
NSA

File
Burned

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Authority VND 954/503
By MVA Date 10/5/03

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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CONFIDENTIAL 324

PAGE 01 ADDIS 06169 172309Z

83
ACTION AF 16

INFO SS 25, INR 07, RSR 01, RSC 01, /050 W

002496

P 171440Z OCT 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO AMEMBASSY KINSHASA PRIORITY
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIOR 6 7371

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 6169

AT REQUEST ACTING MIN FONAFF TESFAYE, APPRECIATE YOUR PASSING
FOLLOWING TWO MESSAGES ETHIOPIAN AMBASSADOR FOR DELIVERY SOONEST
TO PRES MOBUTU:

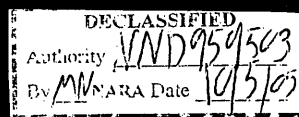
QTE
1. QTE H.E. PRESIDENT J.D. MUBUTU
PRESIDENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO
KINSHASA

THE FOLLOWING IS A MESSAGE WHICH WE HAVE DESPATCHED TO LT COL OJUKU
INNER QUOTE
IT IS WITH DEEP SADNESS THAT WE CONTINUE TO FOLLOW THE TRAGIC
SITUATION
IN NIGERIA. WE HAVE TOLD YOU ON PREVIOUS OCCASIONS WHEN WE MET YOU
HERE IN ADDIS ABABA AND NIAMEYYHAT YOU CAN USE YOUR INFLUENCE TO
BEAR
IN STOPPING THE FURTHER SHEDDING OF INNOCENT AFRICAN BLOOD AND
DESTRUCT-
ION TO PROPERTY WHICH ARE NOW TAKING PLACE IN YOUR COUNTRY, A MATTER,
WHICH HAS AROUSED THE CONSCIENCE OF PEOPLES WITHIN AND WITHOUT
AFRICA. AS YOU ARE WELL AWARE THE OAU HEADS OF STATE CONSULTATIVE
COMMITTEE ON NIGERIA WHICH WE ARE CHAIRING HAS DONE ITS UTMOST IN
FINDING WAYS AND MEANS OF ALLEVIATING THE PRESENT SUFFERINGS IN NIGER
IA
AND IN FINDING A LASTING SOLUTION TO THE PRESENT CRISIS. WE WISH
TO REASSURE YOU THAT THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE SHALL CONTINUE
WITHOUT
DESPAIR TO DO ALL THAT IS IN ITS POWER TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THIS
DELICATE PROBLEM THAT HAS BESET US ALL FOR SUCH A LONG TIME SO THAT
THERE WILL BE AN END TO THIS FRATRICIDAL CONVULSION AND THAT PEACE

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*Abba Ababa 6169
10-17-68*

0787





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PAGE 02 ADDIS 06169 172309Z

WOULD REIGN ONCE AGAIN IN NIGERIA WHERE ALL NIGERIANS COULD LIVE AND WORK TOGETHER IN LOVE AND HARMONY FOR THE GOOD AND WELL-BEING OF NIGERIA

IN PARTICULAR AND WLRICA IN GENERAL GK THE QUESTION OF MINIMUM SECURITY AND GUARANTEE WHICH YOU HAVE DEMANDED AND THE MAXIMUM SECURITY

AND GUARANTEE WHICH WAS OFFERED BY THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA AS WELL AS THE OBSERVATIONS WE MADE CONCERNING THIS MATTER DURING THE EXTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS HELD HERE IN ADDIS ABABA ARE ALL WELL KNOWN TO YOU. IN VIEW OF THE PRESENT DEVELOPMENTS IN NIGERIA AND IN ORDER TO STOP THE FURTHER PERISHING OF NIGERIANS

AND WOULD APPRECIATE IF YOU WOULD LET US KNOW YOUR VIEWS CONCERNING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE RECENT OAU HEADS OF STATE CONFERENCE IN ALGIERS CONCERNING THE NIGERIAN QUESTION WITH A VIEW TO PUTTING AN END TO THE PRESENT CONFLICT. IN THIS REGARD WE WISH TO INFORM YOU THAT WE HAVE DIRECTED THE SECRETARY OF THE OAU TO TRANSMIT TO YOU A COPY OF THE ABOVE MENTIONED RESOLUTION HAILE SELASSIE I EMPEROR END INNER QUOTE

PLEASE ACCEPT YOUR EXCELLENCY THE ASSURANCE OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION

AND FRATERNAL ESTEEM. IS OUR GOOD FRIEND, HAILE SELASSIE I EMPEROR END QTE

2. QTE HIS EXCELLENCY GENERAL J.D. MOBUTU
PRESIDENT OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO
KINSHASA

YOUR EXCELLENCY, I HAVE THE HONOUR TO TRANSMIT THE FOLLOWING TEXT ADDRESSED TO H.E. MAJ. GEN YAKUBU GOWON INNER
E.

ON BEHALF OF THE MEMBERS OF THE OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE ON NIGERIA, I WISH TO THANK YOUR EXCELLENCY FOR THE EXPRESSION OF GRATITUDE CONTAINED IN YOUR LETTER OF OCT 5, 1968 TO THE COMMITTEE AND MYSELF.

AS INDICATED IN YOUR EXCELLENCY'S LETTER, IT IS CLEAR FROM THE COMMITTEE'S REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT IN ALGIERS HOW MUCH THE MEMBERS OF THE CONSULTATIVE COMMIT

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By	MNARA
Date	10/5/95



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PAGE 03 ADDIS 06169 172309Z

TEE

AND MYSELF, AS ITS CHAIRMAN, HAVE EXERTED EFFORTS SO THAT THE CONFLICT WOULD BE BROUGHT TO AN END PEACEFULLY AND THAT PEACE AND HARMONY WOULD PREVAIL IN NIGERIA. THAT THE COMMITTEE HAD ENDEAVOURED TO FULFILL ITS MANDATE OF PRESERVING THE UNITY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF NIGERIA IS DOCUMENTED IN DETAIL IN ITS REPORT AND WE ARE GLAD THAT THE OAU ASSEMBLY IN ALGIERS REAFFIRMED ITS SUPPORT FOR A UNITED NIGERIA.

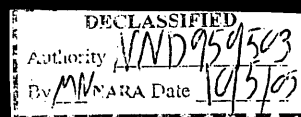
WITH REGARD TO THE HUMANITARIAN ASPECT OF THE QUESTION, WE BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE OPENED A CHANNEL WHICH, WITH THE COOPERATION OF YOUR EXCELLENCY'S GOVERNMENT, CAN GIVE POSITIVE RESULTS. WE ARE CERTAIN THAT YOUR EXCELLENCY NEED NOT BE REMINDED THAT A VIGOROUS DELIVERY OF RELIEF TO THE VICTIMS OF THE CONFLICT REMAINS AN URGENT TASK.

WITH RESPECT TO ENDING THE CONFLICT ITSELF, THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE AND MYSELF ARE READY TO AVAIL OUR SERVICES FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT AT ITS 5TH SESSION IN ALGIERS. AS WE HAD OCCASION IN THE PAST TO EXPRESS TO YOUR EXCELLENCY AND YOUR EXCELLENCY'S REPRESENTATIVES ANY FURTHER PROLONGATION OF THE CONFLICT WILL CAUSE MUCH PAIN TO NIGERIA AND AFRICA BECAUSE IT WILL MEAN THE SHEDDING OF MORE INNOCENT BLOOD AND THEREFORE IT IS INCUMBENT UPON THE FEDERAL NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT TO SEEK WAYS AND MEANS OF ENDING THE CONFLICT PEACEFULLY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ABOVE MENTIONED RESOLUTION. ACCORDINGLY, WE WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING YOUR EXCELLENCY'S VIEWS ON HOW TO IMPLEMENT THE SAID RESOLUTION. IN THIS REGARD, I WISH TO INFORM YOU THAT I HAD, SOMETIME AGO, REQUESTED THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE OAU TO FORWARD TO YOUR EXCELLENCY THE ALGIERS RESOLUTION ON NIGERIA. I HAVE, FOR YOUR EXCELLENCY'S INFORMATION, TRANSMITTED SEPARATELY A COPY OF THE MESSAGE WHICH I HAVE SENT TO COL OJUKU. PLEASE EXCELLENCY, ACCEPT THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION AND FRATERNAL ESTEEM. HAILE SELASSIE I EMPEROR END INNER QTE

PLEASE ACCEPT EXCELLENCY THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION AND FRATERNAL ESTEEM. HAILE SELASSIE I EMPEROR. END QTE HALL

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0789



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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 ADDIS 06171 180600Z

18
ACTION AF 16

INFO CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, IO 13, SAH 02, AID 28, RSR 01, 130 W
004508P 171445Z OCT 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE PRIORITY
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7372

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 6171

AT REQUEST ACTING MIN FONAFF IEG, APPRECIATE YOUR INFORMING
PRES. AHIDJO DIRECTLY AT EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY FOLLOWING TWO
MESSAGES:
QUOTETHE FOLLOWING IS A MESSAGE WHICH WE HAVE DESPATCHED TO LT COL OJUKU
QUOTE

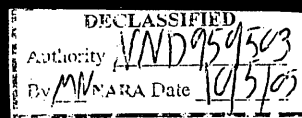
IT IS WITH DEEP SADNESS THAT WE CONTINUE TO FOLLOW THE TRAGIC SITUATION

IN NIGERIA. WE HAVE TOLD YOU ON PREVIOUS OCCASIONS WHEN WE MET YOU
HERE IN ADDIS ABABA AND NIAMEY THAT YOU CAN USE YOUR INFLUENCE TO BEAR
IN STOPPING THE FURTHER SHEDDING OF INNOCENT AFRICAN BLOOD AND DESTRUC-
TION TO PROPERTY WHICH ARE NOW TAKING PLACE IN YOUR COUNTRY, A MATTER,WHICH HAS AROUSED THE CONSCIENCE OF PEOPLES WITHIN AND WITHOUT
AFRICA STOP AS YOU ARE WELL AWARE THE OAU HEADS OF STATE CONSULTATIVE
COMMITTEE ON NIGERIA WHICH WE ARE CHAIRING HAS DONE ITS UTMOST IN
FINDING WAYS AND MEANS OF ALLEVIATING THE PRESENT SUFFERINGS IN NIGERIAAND IN FINDING A LASTING SOLUTION TO THE PRESENT CRISIS. WE WISH
TO REASSURE YOU THAT THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE SHALL CONTINUE WITHOUTDESPAIR TO DO ALL THAT IS IN ITS POWER TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THIS
DELICATE PROBLEM THAT HAS BESET US ALL FOR SUCH A LONG TIME SO THAT

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Alvin M. Baker 6171
12-17-68

0790





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PAGE 02 ADDIS 06171 180600Z

THERE WILL BE AN END TO THIS FRATRICIDAL CONVULSION AND THAT PEACE WOULD REIGN ONCE AGAIN IN NIGERIA WHERE ALL NIGERIANS COULD LIVE AND WORK TOGETHER IN LOVE AND HARMONY FOR THE GOOD AND WELL-BEING OF NIGERIA

IN PARTICULAR AND AFRICA IN GENERAL. THE QUESTION OF MINIMUM SECURITY AND GUARANTEE WHICH YOU HAVE DEMANDED AND THE MAXIMUM SECURITY

AND GUARANTEE WHICH WAS OFFERED BY THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA AS WELL AS THE OBSERVATIONS WE MADE CONCERNING THIS MATTER DURING THE EXTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS HELD HERE IN ADDIS ABABA ARE ALL WELL KNOWN TO YOU STOP IN VIEW OF THE PRESENT DEVELOPMENTS IN NIGERIA AND IN ORDER TO STOP THE FURTHER PERISHING OF NIGERIANS WE WOULD APPRECIATE IF YOU WOULD LET US KNOW YOUR VIEWS CONCERNING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE RECENT OAU HEADS OF STATE CONFERENCE IN ALGIERS CONCERNING THE NIGERIAN QUESTION WITH A VIEW TO PUTTING AN END TO THE PRESENT CONFLICT STOP IN THIS REGARD WE WISH TO INFORM YOU THAT WE HAVE DIRECTED THE SECRETARY OF THE OAU TO TRANSMIT TO YOU A COPY OF THE ABOVE MENTIONED RESOLUTION HAILE SELASSIE I EMPEROR UNQUOTE

PLEASE ACCEPT YOUR EXCELLENCY THE ASSURANCE OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION

AND FRATERNAL ESTEEM. YOUR GOOD FRIEND, HAILE SELASSIE I EMPEROR UNQUOTE

YOUR EXCELLENCY, I HAVE THE HONOUR TO TRANSMIT THE FOLLOWING TEXT ADDRESSED TO H.E. MAJOR GENERAL YAKUBU GOWON QUOTE ON BEHALF OF THE MEMBERS OF THE OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE ON NIGERIA, I WISH TO THANK YOUR EXCELLENCY FOR THE EXPRESSION OF GRATITUDE CONTAINED IN YOUR LETTER OF OCTOBER 5, 1968 TO THE COMMITTEE AND MYSELF.

AS INDICATED IN YOUR EXCELLENCY'S LETTER, IT IS CLEAR FROM THE COMMITTEE'S REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND

GOVERNMENT IN ALGIERS HOW MUCH THE MEMBERS OF THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

AND MYSELF, AS ITS CHAIRMAN, HAVE EXERTED EFFORTS SO THAT THE CONFLICT WOULD BE BROUGHT TO AN END PEACEFULLY AND THAT PEACE AND HARMONY WOULD PREVAIL IN NIGERIA. THAT THE COMMITTEE ENDEAVOURED TO FULFILL ITS MANDATE OF PRESERVING THE UNITY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY

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0791

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 954503
By	MW NARA
Date	10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 03 ADDIS 06171 180600Z

ITY

OF NIGERIA IS DOCUMENTED IN DETAIL IN ITS REPORT AND WE ARE GLAD THAT THE OAU ASSEMBLY IN ALGIERS REAFFIRMED ITS SUPPORT FOR A UNITED NIGERIA.

WITH REGARD TO THE HUMANITARIAN ASPECT OF THE QUESTION, WE BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE OPENED A CHANNEL WHICH, WITH THE COOPERATION OF YOUR EXCELLENCY'S GOVERNMENT, CAN GIVE POSITIVE RESULT. WE ARE CERTAIN THAT YOUR EXCELLENCY NEED NOT BE REMINDED THAT A VIGOROUS DELIVERY OF RELIEF TO THE VICTIMS OF THE CONFLICT REMAINS AN URGENT TASK.

WITH RESPECT TO ENDING THE CONFLICT ITSELF, THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE AND MYSELF ARE READY TO AVAIL OUR SERVICES FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT AT ITS 5TH SESSION IN ALGIERS. AS WE HAD OCCASION IN THE PAST TO EXPRESS TO YOUR EXCELLENCY AND YOUR EXCELLENCY'S REPRESENTATIVES, ANY FURTHER PROLONGATION OF THE CONFLICT WILL CAUSE MUCH PAIN TO NIGERIA AND AFRICA BECAUSE IT WILL MEAN THE SHEDDING OF MORE INNOCENT BLOOD AND THEREFORE IT IS INCUMBENT UPON THE FEDERAL NIGERIAN

GOVERNMENT TO SEEK WAYS AND MEANS OF ENDING THE CONFLICT PEACEFULLY

IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ABOVE MENTIONED RESOLUTION. ACCORDINGLY, WE WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING YOUR EXCELLENCY'S VIEWS ON HOW TO IMPLEMENT THE SAID RESOLUTION IN THIS REGARD. I WISH TO INFORM YOU THAT I HAD, SOME

TIME AGO, REQUESTED THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE OAU TO FORWARD TO YOUR

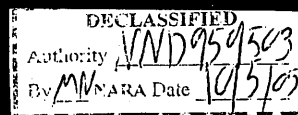
EXCELLENCY THE ALGIERS RESOLUTION ON NIGERIA. I HAVE, FOR YOUR EXCELLENCY'S INFORMATION, TRANSMITTED SEPARATELY A COPY OF THE MESSAGE

WHICH I HAVE SENT TO COLONEL OJUKU. PLEASE EXCELLENCY, ACCEPT THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION AND FRATERNAL ESTEEM. HAILE SELASSIE I EMPEROR UNQUOTE

PLEASE ACCEPT EXCELLENCY THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION AND FRATERNAL ESTEEM. HAILE SELASSIE I EMPEROR UNQUOTE
HALL

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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ACTION AF 16

INFO SS 25, INR 07, RSR 01, RSC 01, /050 W
010943

P 171730Z OCT 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7377

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 6178

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y - MRN ONLY (6178 VICE 6177)

AT REQUEST ACTING MIN FONAFF TESFAYE, APPRECIATE YOUR
PASSING FOLLOWING MESSAGE TO ETHIOPIAN AMBASSADOR FOR
DELIVERY SOONEST TO GENERAL GOWON:

1. QTE H.E. MAJ GEN YAKUBU GOWON
HEAD OF THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA
LAGOS, NIGERIA

YOUR EXCELLENCY,

ON BEHALF OF THE MEMBERS OF THE OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE ON
NIGERIA, I WISH TO THANK YOUR EXCELLENCY FOR THE EXPRESSION OF
GRATITUDE CONTAINED IN YOUR LETTER OF OCT 5, 68 TO THE COMMITTEE
AND MYSELF.

AS INDICATED IN YOUR EXCELLENCY'S LETTER, IT IS CLEAR FROM
THE COMMITTEE'S REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE
AND
GOVNMNT IN ALGIERS HOW MUCH THE MEMBERS OF THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE
AND MYSELF, AS ITS CHAIRMAN, HAVE EXERTED EFFORTS SO THAT THE
CONFLICT
WOULD BE BROUGHT TO AN END PEACEFULLY AND THAT PEACE AND HARMONY
WOULD PREVAIL IN NIGERIA. THAT THE COMMITTEE HAD ENDEAVOURED TO
FULFILL
ITS MANDATE OF PRESERVING THE UNITY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY OF
NIGERIA
IS DOCUMENTED IN DETAIL IN ITS REPORT AND WE ARE GLAD THAT IN THE OAU
ASSEMBLY IN ALGIERS REAFFIRMED ITS SUPPORT FOR A UNITED NIGERIA.

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*Addis Ababa 6178
10-17-68*

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Authority VND 954503
By MNARA Date 10/5/05



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WITH REGARD TO THE HUMANITARIAN ASPECT OF THE QUESTION, WE BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE OPENED A CHANNEL WHICH, WITH THE COOPERATION OF YOUR EXCELLENCY'S GOVERNMENT, CAN GIVE POSITIVE RESULTS. WE ARE CERTAIN THAT YOUR EXCELLENCY NEED NOT BE REMINDED THAT A VIGOROUS DELIVERY OF RELIEF TO THE VICTIMS OF THE CONFLICT REMAINS AN URGENT TASK.

WITH RESPECT TO ENDING THE CONFLICT ITSELF, THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE AND MYSELF ARE READY TO AVAIL OUR SERVICES FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVT AT ITS 5TH SESSION IN ALGIERS. AS WE HAD OCCASION IN THE PAST TO EXPRESS TO YOUR EXCELLENCY AND YOUR EXCELLENCY'S REPRESENTATIVES, ANY FURTHER PROLONGATION OF THE CONFLICT WILL CAUSE MUCH PAIN TO NIGERIA AND AFRICA BECAUSE IT WILL MEAN THE SHEDDING OF MORE INNOCENT BLOOD AND THEREFORE IT IS INCUMBENT UPON THE FEDERAL NIGERIAN GOVT TO SEEK WAYS AND MEANS OF ENDING THE CONFLICT PEACEFULLY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ABOVE MENTIONED RESOLUTION. ACCORDINLY, WE WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING YOUR EXCELLENCY'S VIEWS ON HOW TO IMPLEMENT THE SAID RESOLUTION. IN THIS REGARD, I WISH TO INFORM YOUR THAT I HAD, SOMETIME AGO, REQUESTED THE SECRETARY GENERAL ON THE OAU TO FORWARD TO YOUR EXCELLENCY THE ALGIERS RESOLUTION ON NIGERIA. I HAVE, FOR YOUR EXCELLENCY'S INFORMATION, TRANSMITTED SEPARATELY A COPY OF THE MESSAGE WHICH I HAVE SENT TO COL OJUKU. PLEASE EXCELLENCY, ACCEPT THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION AND FRATERNAL ESTEEM. HAILE SELASSIE I EMPEROR END QTE

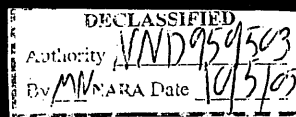
2. ENCLOSURE TO HIM'S LETTER TO GEN GOWON:

QTE LT COL OJUKU
EASTERN NIGERIA

IT IS WITH DEEP SADNESS THAT WE CONTINUE TO FOLLOW THE TRAGIC SITUATION IN NIGERIA. WE HAVE TOLD YOU ON PREVIOUS OCCASIONS WHEN WE MET YOU HERE IN ADDIS ABABA AND MIAMEY THAT YOU CAN USE YOUR INFLUENCE TO BEAR IN STOPPING THE FURTHER SHEDDING OF INNOCENT AFRICAN BLOOD AND:

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DESTRUCTION

TO PROPERTY WHICH ARE NOW TAKING PLACE IN YOUR COUNTRY, A MATTER, WHICH HAS AROUSED THE CONSCIENCE OF PEOPLES WITHIN AND WITHOUT AFRICA. AS YOUR ARE WELL AWARE OF THE OAU HEADS OF STATE CONSULTATION COMMITTEE ON NIGERIA WHICH WE ARE CHAIRING HAS DONE ITS UTMOST IN FINDING WAYS AND MEANS OF ALLEVIATING THE PRESENT SUFFERING

IN NIGERIA AND IN FINDING A LASTING SOLUTION TO THE PRESENT CRISIS. WE WISH TO REASSURE YOU THAT THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE SHALL CONTINUE

WITHOUT DESPAIR TO DO ALL THAT IS IN ITS POWER TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THIS DELICATE PROBLEM THAT HAS BESET US ALL FOR SUCH A LONG TIME SO THAT

THERE WILL BE AN END TO THIS FRATRICIDAL CONVULSION AND THAT PEACE WOULD

REIGN ONCE AGAIN IN NIGERIA WHERE ALL NIGERIANS COULD LIVE AND WORK TOGETHER IN LOVE AND HARMONY FOR THE GOOD AND WELL-BEING OF NIGERIA

IN PARTICULAR AND AFRICA IN GENERAL. THE QUESTION OF MINIMUM SECURITY AND GUARANTEE WHICH YOUR HAVE DEMANDS AND THE MAXIMUM SECURITY AND GUARANTEE

WHICH WAS OFFERED BY THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVT OF NIGERIA AS WELL AS THE OBSERVATIONS WE MADE CONCERNING THIS MATTER DURING THE EXTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS HELD HERE IN ADDIS ABABA ARE ALL WELL KNOWN TO YOU.

IN VIEW OF THE PRESENT DEVELOPMENTS IN NIGERIA AND IN ORDER TO STOP THE FURTHER PERISHING OF NIGERIANS WE WOULD APPRECIATE IF YOU WOULD LET US KNOW YOUR VIEWS CONCERNING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF RESOLUTION

ADOPTED AT THE RECENT OAU HEADS OF STATE CONFERENCE IN ALGIERS CONCERNING THE NIGERIAN QUESTION WITH A VIEW TO PUTTING AN END TO THE PRESENT CONFLICT.

IN THIS REGARD WE WISH TO INFORM YOU THAT WE HAVE DIRECTED THE SECRETARY GEN OF THE OAU TO TRANSMIT TO YOU A COPY OF THE ABOVE MENTIONED RESOLUTION. HAILE SELASSIE EMPEROR END QTE

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By	MVA/ARA
Date	10/5/05

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ACTION AF 16

INFO SS 25 INP 07 RSC 01 RSR 01 1050 W

003135

P 171515Z OCT 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO AMEMBASSY MONROVIA PRIORITY
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7373

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 6172

AT REQUEST ACTING MIN FONAFF TESFAYE, APPRECIATE FOLLOWING TWO
MESSAGE BE PASSED ETHIOPIAN AMBASSADOR SOONEST FOR DELIVERY TO
PRES. TUBMAN:

QUOTE

THE FOLLOWING IS A MESSAGE WHICH WE HAVE DESPATCHED TO LT COL OJUKU
QUOTE

IT IS WITH DEEP SADNESS THAT WE CONTINUE TO FOLLOW THE TRAGIC
SITUATION
IN NIGERIA. WE HAVE TOLD YOU ON PREVIOUS OCCASIONS WHEN WE MET YOU
HERE IN ADDIS ABABA AND NIAMEY THAT YOU CAN USE YOUR INFLUENCE TO
BEAR
IN STOPPING THE FURTHER SHEDDING OF INNOCENT AFRICAN
BLOOD AND DESTRUCTION TO PROPERTY WHICH ARE NOW TAKING PLACE
IN YOUR COUNTRY, A MATTER, WHICH HAS AROUSED THE CONSCIENCE OF
PEOPLES WITHIN AND WITHOUT
AFRICA STOP AS YOU ARE WELL AWARE THE OAU HEADS OF STATE CONSULTATIVE
COMMITTEE ON NIGERIA WHICH WE ARE CHAIRING HAS DONE ITS UTMOST IN
FINDING WAYS AND MEANS OF ALLEVIATING THE PRESENT SUFFERINGS IN
NIGERIA
AND IN FINDING A LASTING SOLUTION TO THE PRESENT CRISIS. WE WISH
TO REASSURE YOU THAT THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE SHALL CONTINUE
WITHOUT
DESPAIR TO DO ALL THAT IS IN ITS POWER TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THIS
DELICATE PROBLEM THAT HAS BESET US ALL FOR SUCH A LONG TIME SO THAT
THERE WILL BE AN END TO THIS FRATRICIDAL CONVULSION AND THAT PEACE
WOULD REIGN ONCE AGAIN IN NIGERIA WHERE ALL NIGERIANS COULD LIVE AND
WORK TOGETHER IN LOVE AND HARMONY FOR THE GOOD AND WELL-BEING OF NIGERIA

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By MNA Date 10/5/00



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RIA

IN PARTICULAR AND AFRICA IN GENERAL. THE QUESTION OF MINIMUM SECURITY AND GUARANTEE WHICH YOU HAVE DEMANDED AND THE MAXIMUM SECURITY AND GUARANTEE WHICH WAS OFFERED BY THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA AS WELL AS THE OBSERVATIONS WE MADE CONCERNING THIS MATTER DURING THE EXTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS HELD HERE IN ADDIS ABABA ARE ALL WELL KNOWN TO YOU STOP IN VIEW OF THE PRESENT DEVELOPMENTS IN NIGERIA AND IN ORDER TO STOP THE FURTHER PERISHING OF NIGERIANS WE WOULD APPRECIATE IF YOU WOULD LET US KNOW YOUR VIEWS CONCERNING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE RECENT OAU HEADS OF STATE CONFERENCE IN ALGIERS CONCERNING THE NIGERIAN QUESTION WITH A VIEW TO PUTTING AN END TO THE PRESENT CONFLICT STOP IN THIS REGARD WE WISH TO INFORM YOU THAT WE HAVE DIRECTED THE SECRETARY OF THE OAU TO TRANSMIT TO YOU A COPY OF THE ABOVE MENTIONED RESOLUTION HAILE SELASSIE I EMPEROR UNQUOTE

PLEASE ACCEPT YOUR EXCELLENCY THE ASSURANCE OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION AND FRATERNAL ESTEEM. YOUR GOOD FRIEND, HAILE SELASSIE I EMPEROR UNQUOTE

YOUR EXCELLENCY, I HAVE THE HONOUR TO TRANSMIT THE FOLLOWING TEXT ADDRESSED TO H.E. MAJOR GENERAL YAKUBU GOWON QUOTE ON BEHALF OF THE MEMBERS OF THE OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE ON NIGERIA, I WISH TO THANK YOUR EXCELLENCY FOR THE EXPRESSION OF GRATITUDE CONTAINED IN YOUR LETTER OF OCTOBER 5, 1968 TO THE COMMITTEE AND MYSELF.

AS INDICATED IN YOUR EXCELLENCY'S LETTER, IT IS CLEAR FROM THE COMMITTEE'S REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT IN ALGIERS HOW MUCH THE MEMBERS OF THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

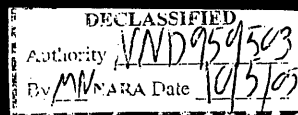
AND MYSELF, AS ITS CHAIRMAN, HAVE EXERTED EFFORTS SO THAT THE CONFLICT WOULD BE BROUGHT TO AN END PEACEFULLY AND THAT PEACE AND HARMONY WOULD PREVAIL IN NIGERIA. THAT THE COMMITTEE ENDEAVOURED TO FULFILL ITS MANDATE OF PRESERVING THE UNITY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY

OF NIGERIA IS DOCUMENTED IN DETAIL IN ITS REPORT AND WE ARE GLAD THAT THE OAU ASSEMBLY IN ALGIERS REAFFIRMED ITS SUPPORT FOR A UNITED NIGERIA

WITH REGARD TO THE HUMANITARIAN ASPECT OF THE QUESTION, WE BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE OPENED A CHANNEL WHICH, WITH THE COOPERATION

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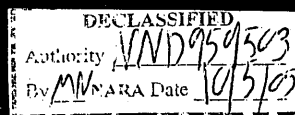
OF YOUR EXCELLENCY'S GOVERNMENT, CAN GIVE POSITIVE RESULT. WE ARE CERTAIN THAT YOUR EXCELLENCY NEED NOT BE REMINDED THAT A VIGOROUS DELIVERY OF RELIEF TO THE VICTIMS OF THE CONFLICT REMAINS AN URGENT TASK.

WITH RESPECT TO ENDING THE CONFLICT ITSELF, THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE AND MYSELF ARE READY TO AVAIL OUR SERVICES FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT AT ITS 5TH SESSION IN ALGIERS. AS WE HAD OCCASION IN THE PAST TO EXPRESS TO YOUR EXCELLENCY AND YOUR EXCELLENCY'S REPRESENTATIVES, ANY FURTHER PROLONGATION OF THE CONFLICT WILL CAUSE MUCH PAIN TO NIGERIA AND AFRICA BECAUSE IT WILL MEAN THE SHEDDING OF MORE INNOCENT BLOOD AND THEREFORE IT IS INCUMBENT UPON THE FEDERAL NIGERIA GOVERNMENT TO SEEK WAYS AND MEANS OF ENDING THE CONFLICT PEACEFULLY IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE ABOVE MENTIONED RESOLUTION. ACCORDINGLY, WE WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING YOUR EXCELLENCY'S VIEWS ON HOW TO IMPLEMENT THE SAID RESOLUTION IN THIS REGARD, I WISH TO INFORM YOU THAT I HAD, SOME TIME AGO REQUESTED THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE OAU TO FORWARD TO YOUR EXCELLENCY THE ALGIERS RESOLUTION ON NIGERIA. I HAVE, FOR YOUR EXCELLENCY'S INFORMATION, TRANSMITTED SEPARATELY A COPY OF THE MESSAGE WHICH I HAVE SENT TO COLONEL OJUKU. PLEASE EXCELLENCY ACCEPT THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION AND FRATERNAL ESTEEM. HAILE SALASSIE I EMPEROR UNQUOTE.

PLEASE ACCEPT EXCELLENCY THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION AND FRATERNAL ESTEEM. HAILE SELASSIE I EMPEROR UNQUOTE
HALL

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POL 27-14 B IAFRA-NIGERIA
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PAGE 01 ADDIS 06168 180613Z

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ACTION AF 16

INFO CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSAE 00, NSCE 00, SSO 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, SA 01,
IO 13, AID 28, SCS 04, SCA 02, SR 01, ORM 03, EUR 15, RSR 01, GPM 04,
H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, SAH 02, 144 W
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P 171430Z OCT 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO AMEMBASSY NIAMEY PRIORITY
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7370

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 6168

AT REQUEST ACTING MIN FONAFF IEG, APPRECIATE YOUR INFORMING PRES.
DIORI DIRECTLY AT EARLIEST OPPORTUNITY FOLLOWING TWO MESSAGES:

QUOTE

THE FOLLOWING IS A MESSAGE WHICH WE HAVE DESPATCHED TO LT COL OJUKU
QUOTE

IT IS WITH DEEP SADNESS THAT WE CONTINUE TO FOLLOW THE TRAGIC SITUATION
IN NIGERIA. WE HAVE TOLD YOU ON PREVIOUS OCCASIONS WHEN WE MET YOU
HERE IN ADDIS ABABA AND NIAMEY THAT YOU CAN USE YOUR INFLUENCE TO BEAR
IN STOPPING THE FURTHER SHEDDING OF INNOCENT AFRICAN BLOOD AND DESTRU-

CTION
TO PROPERTY WHICH ARE NOW TAKING PLACE IN YOUR COUNTRY, A MATTER,
WHICH HAS AROUSED THE CONSCIENCE OF PEOPLES WITHIN AND WITHOUT
AFRICA STOP AS YOU ARE WELL AWARE THE OAU HEADS OF STATE CONSULTATIVE
COMMITTEE ON NIGERIA WHICH WE ARE CHAIRING HAS DONE ITS UTMOST IN
FINDING WAYS AND MEANS OF ALLEVIATING THE PRESENT SUFFERINGS IN NIGERIA

AND IN FINDING A LASTING SOLUTION TO THE PRESENT CRISIS. WE WISH
TO REASSURE YOU THAT THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE SHALL CONTINUE WITHOUT

DESPAIR TO DO ALL THAT IS IN ITS POWER TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THIS
DELICATE PROBLEM THAT HAS BESET US ALL FOR SUCH A LONG TIME SO THAT

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*Alhaji Abubakar 6168
10-17-68*

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THERE WILL BE AN END TO THIS FRATRICIDAL CONVULSION AND THAT PEACE WOULD REIGN ONCE AGAIN IN NIGERIA WHERE ALL NIGERIANS COULD LIVE AND WORK TOGETHER IN LOVE AND HARMONY FOR THE GOOD AND WELL-BEING OF NIGERIA

IN PARTICULAR AND AFRICA IN GENERAL. THE QUESTION OF MINIMUM SECURITY AND GUARANTEE WHICH YOU HAVE DEMANDED AND THE MAXIMUM SECURITY

AND GUARANTEE WHICH WAS OFFERED BY THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA AS WELL AS THE OBSERVATIONS WE MADE CONCERNING THIS MATTER DURING THE EXTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS HELD HERE IN ADDIS ABABA ARE ALL WELL KNOWN TO YOU STOP IN VIEW OF THE PRESENT DEVELOPMENTS IN NIGERIA AND IN ORDER TO STOP THE FURTHER PERISHING OF NIGERIANS WE WOULD APPRECIATE IF YOU WOULD LET US KNOW YOUR VIEWS CONCERNING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE RECENT OAU HEADS OF STATE CONFERENCE IN ALGIERS CONCERNING THE NIGERIAN QUESTION WITH A VIEW TO PUTTING AN END TO THE PRESENT CONFLICT STOP IN THIS REGARD WE WISH TO INFORM YOU THAT WE HAVE DIRECTED THE SECRETARY OF THE OAU TO TRANSMIT TO YOU A COPY OF THE ABOVE MENTIONED RESOLUTION HAILE SELASSIE I EMPEROR UNQUOTE

PLEASE ACCEPT YOUR EXCELLENCY THE ASSURANCE OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION

AND FRATERNAL ESTEEM. YOUR GOOD FRIEND, HAILE SELASSIE I EMPEROR UNQUOTE

YOUR EXCELLENCY, I HAVE THE HONOUR TO TRANSMIT THE FOLLOWING TEXT ADDRESSED TO H.E. MAJOR GENERAL YAKUBU GOWON QUOTE ON BEHALF OF THE MEMBERS OF THE OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE ON NIGERIA, I WISH TO THANK YOUR EXCELLENCY FOR THE EXPRESSION OF GRATITUDE CONTAINED IN YOUR LETTER OF OCTOBER 5, 1968 TO THE COMMITTEE AND MYSELF.

AS INDICATED IN YOUR EXCELLENCY'S LETTER, IT IS CLEAR FROM THE COMMITTEE'S REPORT SUBMITTED TO THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND

GOVERNMENT IN ALGIERS HOW MUCH THE MEMBERS OF THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE

AND MYSELF, AS ITS CHAIRMAN, HAVE EXERTED EFFORTS SO THAT THE CONFLICT WOULD BE BROUGHT TO AN END PEACEFULLY AND THAT PEACE AND HARMONY WOULD PREVAIL IN NIGERIA. THAT THE COMMITTEE ENDEAVOURED TO FULFILL ITS MANDATE OF PRESERVING THE UNITY AND TERRITORIAL

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MW NARA
Date	10/5/00



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INTEGRITY

OF NIGERIA IS DOCUMENTED IN DETAIL IN ITS REPORT AND WE ARE GLAD THAT THE OAU ASSEMBLY IN ALGIERS REAFFIRMED ITS SUPPORT FOR A UNITED NIGERIA.

WITH REGARD TO THE HUMANITARIAN ASPECT OF THE QUESTION, WE BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE OPENED A CHANNEL WHICH, WITH THE COOPERATION OF YOUR EXCELLENCY'S GOVERNMENT, CAN GIVE POSITIVE RESULT. WE ARE CERTAIN THAT YOUR EXCELLENCY NEED NOT BE REMINDED THAT A VIGOROUS DELIVERY OF RELIEF TO THE VICTIMS OF THE CONFLICT REMAINS AN URGENT TASK.

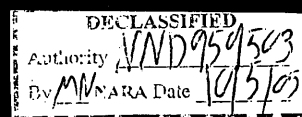
WITH RESPECT TO ENDING THE CONFLICT ITSELF, THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE AND MYSELF ARE READY TO AVAIL OUR SERVICES FOR THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT AT ITS 5TH SESSION IN ALGIERS. AS WE HAD OCCASION IN THE PAST TO EXPRESS TO YOUR EXCELLENCY AND YOUR EXCELLENCY'S REPRESENTATIVES, ANY FURTHER PROLONGATION OF THE CONFLICT WILL CAUSE MUCH PAIN TO NIGERIA AND AFRICA BECAUSE IT WILL MEAN THE SHEDDING OF MORE INNOCENT BLOOD AND THEREFORE IT IS INCUMBENT UPON THE FEDERAL NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT TO SEEK WAYS AND MEANS OF ENDING THE CONFLICT PEACEFULLY IN ACCORDANCE

WITH THE ABOVE MENTIONED RESOLUTION. ACCORDINGLY, WE WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING YOUR EXCELLENCY'S VIEWS ON HOW TO IMPLEMENT THE SAID RESOLUTION. IN THIS REGARD, I WISH TO INFORM YOU THAT I HAD, SOMETIME AGO, REQUESTED THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE OAU TO FORWARD TO YOUR EXCELLENCY THE ALGIERS RESOLUTION ON NIGERIA. I HAVE, FOR YOUR EXCELLENCY'S INFORMATION, TRANSMITTED SEPARATELY A COPY OF THE MESSAGE WHICH I HAVE SENT TO COLONEL OJUKU. PLEASE EXCELLENCY, ACCEPT THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION AND FRATERNAL ESTEEM. HAILE SELASSIE I EMPEROR UNQUOTE

PLEASE ACCEPT EXCELLENCY THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION AND FRATERNAL ESTEEM. HAILE SELASSIE I EMPEROR UNQUOTE
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ACTION AF 16

INFO SS 25, INR 07, RSR 01, RSC 01, /050 W

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P 171415Z OCT 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY
INFO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7369

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 6167

AT REQUEST ACTING MIN FONAFF TESFAYE, WOULD APPRECIATE
FOLLOWING MESSAGE BE PASSED ETHIOPIAN CHARGE D'AFFAIRES
SOONEST FOR DELIVERY TO PRES. HOUPHOUET BOIGNY:

BEGIN QTE

H.E. PRESIDENT HOUPHOUET BOIGNY
PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC OF IVORY COAST
ABIDJAN (IVORY COAST)

YOUR EXCELLENCY, I SHALL BE MOST APPRECIATIVE IF YOU WOULD
KINDLY TRANSMIT THE FOLLOWING MESSAGE ADDRESSED TO LT COL
OJUKU, EASTERN NIGERIA INNER QUOTE

"IT IS WITH DEEP SADNESS THAT WE CONTINUE TO FOLLOW THE TRAGIC
SITUATION IN NIGERIA. WE HAVE TOLD YOU ON PREVIOUS OCCASIONS
WHEN WE MET YOU HERE IN ADDIS ABABA AND NIAMEY THAT YOU CAN USE
YOUR INFLUENCE TO BEAR IN STOPPING THE FURTHER SHEDDING OF
INNOCENT AFRICAN BLOOD AND DESTRUCTION TO PROPERTY WHICH ARE NOW
TAKING PLACE IN YOUR COUNTRY, A MATTER, WHICH HAS
AROUSSED THE CONSCIENCE OF PEOPLES WITHIN AND WITHOUT AFRICA.
AS YOUR ARE WELL AWARE THE OAU HEADS OF STATE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE
ON NIGERIA WHICH WE ARAACHAIRING HAS DONE ITS UTMOST IN FINDING
WAYS AND MEANS OF ALLEVIATING THE PRESENT SUFFERINGS IN NIGERIA
AND IN FINDING A LASTING SOLUTION TO THE PRESENT CRISIS. WE
WISH TO REASSURE YOU THAT THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE SHALL
CONTINUE WITHOUT DESPAIR TO DO ALL THAT IS IN ITS POWER TO FIND
A SOLUTION TO THIS DELICATE PROBLEM THAT HAS BESET US ALL FOR
SUCH A LONG TIME SO THAT THERE WILL BE AN END TO THIS FRATRICIDAL
CONVULSION AND THAT PEACE WOULD REIGN ONCE AGAIN IN NIGERIA WHERE

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05



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PAGE 02 ADDIS 06167 172331Z

ALL NIGERIANS COULD LIVE AND WORK TOGETHER IN LOVE AND HARMONY FOR THE GOOD AND WELL-BEING OF NIGERIA IN PARTICULAR AND AFRICA IN GENERAL. THE QUESTION OF MINIMUM SECURITY AND GUARANTEE WHICH YOU HAVE DEMANDED AND THE MAXIMUM SECURITY AND GUARANTEE WHICH WAS OFFERED BY THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA AS WELL AS THE OBSERVATIONS WE MADE CONCERNING THIS MATTER DURING THE EXTENSIVE DISCUSSIONS HELD HERE IN ADDIS ABABA ARE ALL WELL KNOWN TO YOU. IN VIEW OF THE PRESENT DEVELOPMENTS IN NIGERIANS WE WOULD APPRECIATE IF YOU WOULD LET US KNOW YOUR VIEWS CONCERNING THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT THE RECENT OAU HEADS OF STATE CONFERENCE IN ALGIERS CONCERNING THE NIGERIAN QUESTION WITH A VIEW TO PUTTING AN END TO THE PRESENT CONFLICT. IN THIS REGARD WE WISH TO INFORM YOU THAT WE HAVE DIRECTED THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE OAU TO TRANSMIT TO YOU A COPY OF THE ABOVE MENTIONED RESOLUTION HAILE SELASSIE I EMPEROR
END INNER QTE

PLEASE ACCEPT YOUR EXCELLENCY THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION AND FRATERNAL ESTEEM. YOUR GOOD FRIEND
HAILE SELASSIE I, EMPEROR
END QTE.

HALL

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By	MW NARA
Date	10/5/02



Pol 27 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State

TELEGRAM

31

th Pol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria

SECRET 142

PAGE 01 LONDON 13314 081750Z

42
ACTION SS 30

INFO SSO 00, /030 W

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P 081735Z OCT 68
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6517
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION GENEVA
USUN NEW YORK

SECRET LONDON 13314

EXDIS

NOFORN

ACCRA FOR PALMER

REF: LONDON'S 13174 AND 13313

1. DEPT WILL HAVE SEEN SEPARATE MESSAGE (LONDON'S 13313) REPORTING RESULTS OF BRITISH ATTEMPT TO SOUND OUT FRENCH INTENTIONS IN NIGERIA. IN HANDLING US ACCOUNT BY BRITISH EMB PARIS OF ITS APPROACH TO QUAI, COMMONWEALTH OFFICE'S WILSON (HEAD, WEST AND GENERAL AFRICAN DEPT) REMARKED THAT FRENCH HAD BEEN PREDICTABLY UNFORTHCOMING BUT APPROACH HAD AT LEAST SERVED NOTICE ON THEM THAT BRITISH WERE WATCHING THEIR ACTIVITIES IN CONNECTION NIGERIAN CONFLICT VERY CLOSELY. IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO KEEP PRESSURE ON FRENCH AS LONG AS IT WAS APPLIED DISCREETLY AND NOT IN WAY CALCULATED TO MAKE THEM THINK WE WERE GANGING UP. IF LATTER HAPPENED, THEY WOULD SIMPLY BECOME MORE MULISH.

2. WE ASKED WILSON WHETHER BRITISH BELIEVED WE SHOULD NOW PROCEED WITH PRELIMINARY INQUIRY TO KETEMA (LONDON'S 13174). WILSON THOUGHT THIS COULD BE USEFUL AS LONG AS APPROACH TO KETEMA WAS LOW-KEY SOUNDING ENVISAGED IN REFTEL. CO HAD RECEIVED RECENT MESSAGE FROM BRITISH EMB ADDIS WHICH INDICATED ETHIOPIANS DID NOT APPRECIATE TOO MUCH COACHING. BRITISH EMB CONCLUDED WE WOULD

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Pol 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
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PAGE 01 USUN N 06779 020130Z

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ACTION IO 15

INFO AF 10, EUR 15, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SAH 02, SR 01, ORM 03,

SCS 04, SCA 02, AID 28, RSR 01, /153 W

039328

R 012300Z OCT 68
FM USMISSION USUN NY
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3463
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION GENEVA

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SUBJ: NIGERIA

REF: USUN 6621

FOLLOWING IST TEXT OF SYG'S REPLY TO CANADIAN FONMIN SHARP'S LETTER OF 21 SEPTEMBER RE NIGERIA (RECEIVED FROM CANADIAN MISSION):

TEXT OF LETTER RECEIVED FROM THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, U THANT, TO THE CANADIAN SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EXTERNAL AFFAIRS, THE HONOURABLE MITCHELL SHARP.

THE PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE OF CANADA TO THE UNITED NATIONS HAS FORWARDED TO ME YOUR MESSAGE OF 21 SEPTEMBER 1968, CONCERNING THE SITUATION IN NIGERIA.

I AM MOST GRATEFUL TO YOU FOR YOUR LETTER WHICH REFLECTS THE CONSISTENT INTEREST SHOWN BY CANADA IN REGARD TO THE UNITED NATIONS AND

TO QUESTIONS OF A HUMANITARIAN NATURE. I WISH TO TELL YOU ALSO OF MY DEEP APPRECIATION FOR YOUR REFERENCES TO MY STATEMENTS REGARDING THE

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DISTRESSING FRATRICIDAL STRIFE IN NIGERIA, AND I AM GREATLY ENCOURAGED BY YOUR SUPPORT OF THE POSITION WHICH I HAVE TAKEN CONCERNING THIS SITUATION. I AGREE WITH YOU THAT RAISING THE SITUATION

IN NIGERIA IN GENERAL TERMS BEFORE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY COULD BE DIVISIVE, PARTICULARLY IN LIGHT OF THE RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED BY THE LAST TWO MEETINGS OF THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT OF

THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY IN KINSHASA AND ALGIERS, RESPECTIVELY.

THE QUESTION OF HUMANITARIAN AID TO THE VICTIMS OF THE NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR HAS BEEN AND CONTINUES TO BE A MATTER OF DEEP CONCERN TO THE

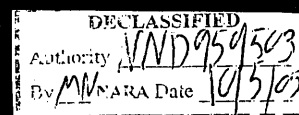
ENTIRE UNITED NATIONS FAMILY. CONSIDERABLE EFFORTS HAVE BEEN MADE TO OBTAIN MEDICAL, FOOD AND OTHER SUPPLIES AND TRANSPORT THEM TO STAGING AREAS IN NIGERIA AND TO OTHER SITES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD, SUCH AS FERNANDO POO AND SAO TOME. THE UNITED NATIONS CHILDREN'S FUND IN PARTICULAR, IN CLOSE CO-OPERATION WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS, HAS BEEN FULLY INVOLVED FOR SOME

TIME NOW IN PROVIDING URGENTLY NEEDED ASSISTANCE. THE FUND HAS ALLOCATED \$700,000 FOR THIS WORK AND THE EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR IS SUBMITTING TO HIS BOARD, FOR THEIR APPROVAL, A FURTHER ALLOCATION OF \$1.5 MILLION, A PART OF WHICH HE HAS ALREADY FOUND IT NECESSARY TO COMMIT IN ADVANCE IN LIGHT OF THE URGENT NEEDS. WITH THESE RESOURCES, WHICH HAVE COME LARGELY FROM PRIVATE CONTRIBUTIONS, UNICEF HAS BEEN AND IS CONTINUING TO PROVIDE MEDICAL SUPPLIES, FOODSTUFFS AND VEHICLES, AND IS ALSO SENDING SUPPLIES CONTRIBUTED IN KIND BY GOVERNMENTS AND INDUSTRY TO A FURTHER VALUE OF APPROXIMATELY \$9 MILLION. IT IS ALSO COVERING THE COSTS OF SOME SPECIALIZED PERSONNEL WORKING WITH OTHER AGENCIES IN THE FIELD. THE FUND HAS ALSO MADE A CONTRACT FOR A SMALL HELICOPTER AIRLIFT FOR LOCAL DELIVERY IN TERRITORIES AROUND CALABAR WHICH HAVE PASSED AGAIN UNDER FEDERAL CONTROL.

THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS, WHICH IS CO-ORDINATING THE HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE TO NIGERIA, HAS CHARTERED A NUMBER OF PLANES WHICH HAVE BEEN TRANSPORTING SUPPLIES INTO THE WAR-AFFECTED AREAS. IMPORTANT CHURCH RELIEF ORGANIZATIONS HAVE ALSO CHARTERED AND ARE OPERATING PLANES FOR THIS PURPOSE. HOWEVER,

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FOR MILITARY REASONS ADDUCED BY ONE SIDE OF THE CONFLICT OR THE OTHER, IT HAS NOT BEEN POSSIBLE TO ESTABLISH A SUFFICIENTLY EFFECTIVE AIR-BRIDGE TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THE AFFLICTED CIVILIAN POPULATION. THE MAIN IMMEDIATE PROBLEM, IN THE VIEW OF EXPERTS IN THE FIELD, IS TO FIND ADEQUATE MEANS FOR TRANSPORTING INTO THE WAR-AFFECTED AREAS THE SUPPLIES WHICH HAVE ACCUMULATED AT VARIOUS STAGING POINTS. INVOLVED IS AN EXTREMELY DIFFICULT LOGISTICAL PROBLEM WHICH INCLUDES NOT ONLY FINDING SUCH MEANS FOR TRANSPORTATION BY AIR, LAND AND SEA AS MAY BE REQUIRED, BUT ALSO OF ENLISTING THE CO-OPERATION OF COMMANDEES IN THE FIELD WHO NATURALLY HAVE A TENDENCY TO GIVE FIRST PRIORITY TO MILITARY COMMITMENTS.

THERE IS PARTICULAR CONCERN REGARDING THE NEED TO STRENGTHEN THE AIRLIFTS. FOR VARIOUS REASONS, INCLUDING THE DESTRUCTION OF ROADS, AIRLIFT CAPACITY IS REQUIRED THROUGHOUT THE REGION ON BOTH SIDES, AND IT IS NOT CONSIDERED THAT THIS NEED WILL DISAPPEAR IF THE MILITARY

SITUATION CHANGES.:

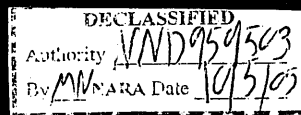
THE COMBINED EFFORTS OF THE ICRC SUPPORTED BY NATIONAL RED CROSS SOCIETIES, VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS AND THE FAMILY OF UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATIONS HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO BRING THE AMOUNT OF RELIEF REQUIRED TO THE CIVILIAN POPULATION. THIS IS NOT ONLY BECAUSE OF THE RESTRICTIONS JUST REFERRED TO, BUT ALSO BECAUSE OF INSUFFICIENT FINANCIAL AND LOGISTICAL SUPPORT.

FOR THE REASONS OUTLINED ABOVE, I BELIEVE THERE ARE TWO MAIN AREAS IN WHICH GOVERNMENTS CAN BE PARTICULARLY HELPFUL. FIRST, IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR GOVERNMENTS TO LEND THEIR SUPPORT, BY PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS AND BY SUCH ACTION AS THEY MAY DEEM APPROPRIATE, TO THE RECENT APPEAL OF THE ORGANIZATION OF AFRICAN UNITY ON NIGERIA TO ALL INTERESTED PARTIES TO CO-OPERATE WITH A VIEW TO ENSURING THE RAPID DESPATCH OF HUMANITARIAN AID TO ALL THOSE WHO ARE

IN NEED OF IT. IN ADDITION, I FEEL THAT GOVERNMENTS COULD INCREASE THEIR LOGISTICAL AND FINANCIAL SUPPORT TO THE ORGANIZATIONS CONCERNED WITH THE RELIEF EFFORT. THE DETAILS CONCERNING SUCH SUPPORT COULD BE DISCUSSED WITH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS AND WITH UNICEF. I KNOW THAT BOTH INSTITUTIONS WOULD WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY OF DISCUSSING CONCRETE WAYS IN WHICH GOVERNMENTS MIGHT ASSIST IN THE TASK OF ALLEVIATING THE PLIGHT OF SO MANY INNOCENT VICTIMS OF THE

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ARMED STRUGGLE IN NIGERIA.

ACCEPT, SIR, THE ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION.

U THANT.

EXEMPT.

BUFFUM

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By	MW NARA Date 10/5/03



POL 27-14 BIAFRA NIGERIA

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R 271415Z SEP 68
FM AMEMBASSY WARSAW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7129
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
USUN NEWYORK 085

UNCLAS WARSAW 4664

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: INTERNATIONAL OBSERVER TEAM

REF: LAGOS 12917 POL 27-14 BIAFRA NIGERIA

1. TRYBUNA LUDU SEPT 27 ANNOUNCED THAT GOP, IN RESPONSE TO REQUEST BY NIGERIAN GOVERNMENT, HAS NAMED COL ALFONS OLKIEWICZ AS POLISH REPRESENTATIVE TO THE INTERNATIONAL GROUP OF OBSERVERS IN NIGERIA.

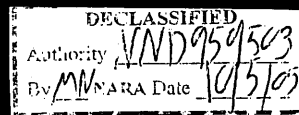
2. ACCORDING TO REPORT, COL OLKIEWICZ, ACCOMPANIED BY TWO UNIDENTIFIED AIDES, PLAN TO LEAVE FOR NIGERIA WITHIN NEXT FEW DAYS.

3. EMBASSY HAS NO BIO INFO ON OLKIEWICZ.
STOESSEL

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ORIGIN ACTION

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TO : Department of State

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INFO : Amembassy LAGOS

OCT 1 10 19 AM 1968

FROM : Amembassy BERN

ANALYSIS BRANCH

DATE: Sept. 27, 1968

SUBJECT: Pro-Biafra Sentiment in Switzerland

REF : BERN 3574 of July 2, 1968

The sympathy of the Swiss people for Biafra, manifested in the numerous activities of pro-Biafran groups, has continued throughout the summer. Demonstrations protesting British and Soviet military aid to the Federal Government have taken place in front of the diplomatic and consular offices of the two countries. Considerable amounts of money, both public and private, have been donated for relief work in Nigeria, particularly in Biafra. The humanitarian efforts of the ICRC have been closely followed by Swiss media.

Last week, protests against British policy, a threatened boycott, and the withdrawal of several participating stores forced British representatives to cancel a British Week commercial promotion in Basel. The anti-British Week movement, backed by Swiss playwright Friedrich Duerrenmatt and theologian Karl Barth, had called for a protest march and a boycott of the stores taking part.

During the summer one of the pro-Biafran groups collected 5,726 signatures on a petition urging the Federal Council to recognize Biafra. In a reply released last week, the Federal Council noted that Switzerland had recognized Nigeria as a state. From the viewpoint of international law, the Federal Government in Lagos is the legitimate government of the country. As long as the civil war continues, any recognition of Biafra would violate the non-intervention principle of international law and would be contrary to the basic principles consistently followed by Switzerland. Legal and neutrality considerations therefore rule out recognition. The Federal

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FORM 4-62 DS-323

Drafted by:

POL:RDJohnson:rem

Contents and Classification Approved by:

DCM:ESLittle

Clearances:

POL:HTSkofield 1/11

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Council added that any recognition would probably also throw into question the Swiss humanitarian efforts.

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Lagos 13917
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PAGE 01 LAGOS 12917 241407Z

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ACTION AF 16

INFO: EUR 15, IO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,
RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SA 01, SAH 02, AID 28, PC 04, SR 01,
ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 02, E 15, DOT 10, ACDA 16, RSR 01, 203 W

R 241210Z SEP 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2696
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
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AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
CINCSTRIKE/CINCMEAFSA
DIA

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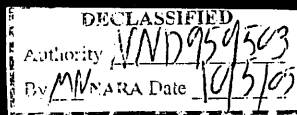
SUBJECT: NIGERIA: INTERNATIONAL OBSERVER TEAM

REF: (A) LAGOS 12552; (B) USUN 6580 (NOTAL)

1. TEAM HAS BEEN HAVING TROUBLE IN GETTING OFF GROUND BUT YESTERDAY HAD THREE-HOUR SESSION WITH GOWON WITHOUT WAITING FURTHER FOR OAU AND POLISH MEMBERS.
2. BRITISH INFORM US THAT PLAN IS TO SPLIT UP IN PAIRS (UTILIZING ADVISERS, WHO WILL BE SEPARATED FROM THEIR PRINCIPALS) AND VISIT OBILAGO, ONITHSA, OWERRI, AND ABA AREAS AS STARTER, BEGINNING TODAY (SEPTEMBER 24) OR TOMORROW. INTENTION IS TO GET AS CLOSE TO ACTION AS POSSIBLE.
3. SINCE NIGERIAN AIR FORCE HAS NO OPERABLE HELICOPTERS LEFT, FMG IS MAKING TWO FIXED WING AIRCRAFT AVAILABLE: A FRIENDSHIP FOKKER AND GOWON'S PRIVATE EXECUTIVE JET.

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 12917 241407Z

4. OBSERVERS ARE TO REPORT TO RESPECTIVE GOVERNMENTS THROUGH FMG. COMMENT: WE ARE NOT CLEAR WHETHER THIS IS SUPPOSED TO INCLUDE GUSSING SINCE SUCH A SYSTEM WOULD BE AT VARIANCE WITH HIS INSTRUCTIONS (REF (B)).

5. THE POLES HAVE APPARENTLY AGREED IN PRINCIPLE TO SUPPLY AN OBSERVER BUT HAVE NOT YET NAMED HIM. SPECULATION IS THAT IF OAU NAMES AN OBSERVER HE WOULD BE ETHIOPIAN.

6. RELATIONS AMONG OBSERVERS AND WITH FMG REPORTEDLY HARMONIOUS ALTHOUGH THERE ARE MANY DETAILS YET TO BE WORKED OUT.

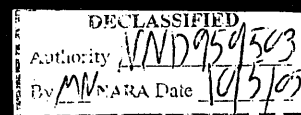
7. BRITISH DEFATT HAS INFORMED OUR DATT THAT HE PROVIDED MILITARY BRIEFING TO BRITISH AND CANADIAN MEMBERS AND INDIRECTLY TO SWEDISH MEMBER, WHOSE ENGLISH IS REPORTEDLY INADEQUATE.

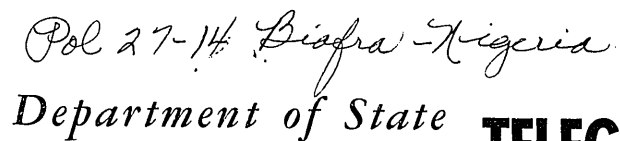
GP-7. # MATHEWS.

NOTE: # AS RECEIVED. VERIFICATION UPON REQUEST.

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PAGE 01 LONDON 12879 231915Z

54.
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P 231813Z SEP 68
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6211
INFO AMEMBASSY PRIORITY

S E C R E T LONDON 12879

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EXDIS

SUBJECT: LORD SHEPHERD TO LAGOS AGAIN

REF: LONDON'S 12788 & 12775 *Pol 27-14 B & M*

1. COMMONWEALTH OFFICE'S MOBERLY (WEST AND GENERAL AFRICAN DEPT) TELLS US BRITISH THIS WEEKEND DECIDED CRANK UP LORD SHEPHERD AGAIN AND SEND HIM TO LAGOS. SHEPHERD WILL LEAVE AS SOON AS BRITISH HICOMER CLEARS IDEA WITH FMG. THIS COULD BE AS EARLY AS TUESDAY NIGHT (SEPT 24).

2. PURPOSE OF TRIP, ACCORDING TO MOBERLY, IS TO GET FMG LEADERS THINKING ABOUT PROBLEMS THAT WILL ARISE AS AND WHEN BIAFRANS ARE DEFEATED MILITARILY. SHEPHERD WILL EMPHASIZE NEED FOR FEDS TO DEMONSTRATE THEIR INTENTION TO FOLLOW GENEROUS POLICY TOWARD DEFEATED IBOS. IN THIS CONNECTION, HE WILL DISCUSS STEPPED-UP EMERGENCY RELIEF PROGRAM, AMNESTY, WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE ORDERLY TRANSFER OF POWER AND RELATED SUBJECTS.

3. WE ASKED MOBERLY WHETHER SHEPHERD WOULD REFER TO BIAFRAN PEACE MISSION AND HE REPLIED: "NOT SPECIFICALLY". HE THOUGHT SHEPHERD MIGHT REFER TO "HOPEFUL INDICATIONS" ENSUING FROM FEDERAL MILITARY SUCCESS. BRITISH THOUGHT, IN ANY EVENT, IT WAS IMPORTANT TO BEGIN WORKING ON FMG BEFORE NEWS OF BIAFRAN PEACE BID BECAME PUBLIC KNOWLEDGE. WE AGREED BUT SAID IT WAS EQUALLY IMPORTANT NOT TO PREJUDICE BIAFRAN DELE.

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PAGE 02 LONDON 12879 231915Z

GATION'S CHANCES OF SUCCESS, HOWEVER SLIGHT, AND THEIR SAFETY, BY PREMATURE DISCLOSURE TO FMG. MOBERLY ACCEPTED POINT AND SAID IT WOULD BE KEPT IN MIND.

4. COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT'S HENSLEY ADVISES US THAT BIAFRAN DELEGATION IS HAVING TRANSPORT DIFFICULTY. THEY WERE FORCED TO TURN BACK TO LISBON OVER WEEKEND, APPARENTLY BECAUSE OF ENGINE TROUBLE. KOGBARA TOLD HENSLEY GROUP NOW HOPED REACH BIAFRA SOMETIME TUESDAY.

5. HENSLEY ALSO COMMENTED THAT LORD SHEPHERD HAD SPOKEN TO KOGBARA FRIDAY NIGHT (SEPT 20) AND HAD ASSURED HIM BRITS WOULD PLAY ACTIVE ROLE WITH FMG ALONG LINES BIAFRANS DESIRED. (LONDON'S 12775) HENSLEY ALSO TOLD KOGBARA THAT ON BASIS HIS TALKS WITH US OFFICIALS HE WAS SURE USG WOULD TRY TO BE HELPFUL ON HUMANITARIAN SIDE, INCLUDING PERHAPS WITH LOGISTIC SUPPORT. HENSLEY SAID KOGBARA WAS GRATIFIED TO HEAR THIS. BRUCE

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PRINCIPALS		GEOGRAPHIC BUREAUS		
S	<i>4</i> <i>4</i> ✓ <i>25</i> ✓	AF	✓✓ <i>12/13</i>	✓✓
U	<i>5</i> <i>5</i> ✓ <i>24</i> ✓	ARA		
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S/AL	<i>20</i>	White House	✓✓ <i>2/3</i>	✓✓
S/C		Vice President		<i>19</i>
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XR Pal 27-9 Biafra-Nigeria
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INFO EUR 15, AF 10, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,

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AID 28, RSR 01, /151 W

R 232225Z SEP 68
FM USMISSION USUN NY
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3290
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION GENEVA

UNCLAS USUN 6621

SUBJECT: NIGERIA

CANADIAN MISSION ISSUED AS PRESS RELEASE TEXT OF FONMIN
SHARP'S LETTER TO SYG RE NIGERIA. FOLLOWING IS TEXT OF LETTER:

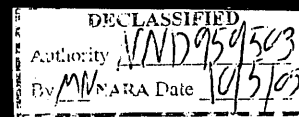
"DEAR MR. SECRETARY-GENERAL,

I WANTED YOU TO KNOW THAT THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF CANADA
SHARE WITH OTHER NATIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD THE DISTRESS AND
DISMAY WHICH YOU HAVE EXPRESSED OVER THE TERRIBLE TOLL OF
DESTRUCTION, STARVATION AND LOSS OF LIFE RESULTING FROM THE
TRAGIC FRATRICIDAL STRIFE IN NIGERIA. AS YOU SO ELOQUENTLY
STATED ON SEPT 13 TO THE MEETING IN ALGIERS OF THE HEADS OF
STATE OF THE OAU, "IN THE NAME OF HUMANITY IT IS ESSENTIAL
THAT EVERYTHING BE DONE TO HELP RELIEVE THE IMPACT OF THIS
TRAGIC CONFLICT".

IN FACE OF THIS CONCERN, THE CANADIAN PEOPLE AND, INDEED, PUBLIC
OPINION IN MANY OTHER COUNTRIES, FIND IT DIFFICULT TO UNDER-
STAND HOW THE UNITED NATIONS COULD FAIL TO CONCERN ITSELF
WITH THE HUMANITARIAN TASK OF PREVENTING DEATH BY STARVATION
FOR THESE SUFFERING PEOPLE.

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PAGE 02 USUN N 06621 240103Z

THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT FULLY SUPPORTS THE EFFORTS OF THE OAU TO ASSIST THE NIGERIAN PEOPLES IN THEIR SEARCH FOR A SOLUTION OF THEIR POLITICAL PROBLEMS. THAT ORGANIZATION, IN A RESOLUTION ADOPTED AT ITS RECENT CONFERENCE IN ALGIERS, ASKED ALL MEMBER STATES OF THE UNITED NATIONS AND OF THE OAU TO ABSTAIN FROM ANY ACTION SUSCEPTIBLE OF IMPAIRING THE UNITY, TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY AND PEACE OF NIGERIA. YOU SAID YOU BELIEVED THAT THE OAU SHOULD BE THE MOST APPROPRIATE INSTRUMENT FOR THE PROMOTION OF PEACE IN NIGERIA AND THAT IT HAS BEEN AGREED THAT ALL HUMANITARIAN AID TO VICTIMS OF THE NIGERIAN CONFLICT SHOULD BE CHANNELLED THROUGH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF THE RED CROSS. THE CANADIAN GOVERNMENT AGREES WITH THESE STATEMENTS.

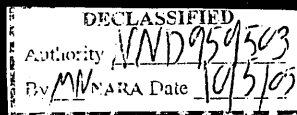
I REALIZE THAT TO RAISE THE SITUATION IN NIGERIA IN GENERAL TERMS BEFORE THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY COULD BE DIVISIVE. THERE MAY, NONETHELESS, BE A ROLE FOR THE UNITED NATIONS IN STIMULATING EFFECTIVE ACTION ON THE HUMANITARIAN PROBLEM OF OPENING WAYS OF DELIVERING RELIEF SUPPLIES TO THE NEEDY. THIS COULD HELP MEET THE EARNEST DESIRE OF PEOPLE EVERYWHERE NOT ONLY TO OFFER ASSISTANCE BUT TO SEE THAT THE ASSISTANCE BEING GIVEN REACHES THOSE WHO ARE IN GREATEST NEED. I CANNOT HELP BUT FEEL THAT IN THESE CIRCUMSTANCES EVERY AVENUE MUST BE EXPLORED.

I KNOW THAT YOU AND YOUR REPRESENTATIVE IN NIGERIA HAVE SPARED NO EFFORT TO URGE THE PARTIES TO FACILITATE THE FLOW OF AID TO THE CIVILIAN POPULATION. AS A CONTRIBUTION TO THE EFFORTS BEING MADE BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, CANADA HAS MADE OVER \$1,000,000.00 AVAILABLE TO THE ICRC FOR RELIEF SUPPLIES FOR NIGERIA. CANADA HAS ALSO RESPONDED TO THE INVITATION OF THE FMG TO SEND AN OBSERVER, ALONG WITH THOSE OF OTHER NATIONS, THE OAU AND YOUR OWN REPRESENTATIVE, TO OBSERVE THE CONDUCT OF FMG TROOPS. THE ALGIERS RESOLUTION OF THE OAU APPEALED ONCE MORE TO ALL INTERESTED PARTIES TO COOPERATE WITH A VIEW TO ASSURING THE RAPID DESPATCH OF HUMANITARIAN AID TO ALL THOSE WHO NEED IT. WE WOULD LIKE TO SEE EFFECT GIVEN TO THIS APPEAL BY THE MOST EFFECTIVE MEANS AVAILABLE.

IN LIGHT OF THESE CONSIDERATIONS, THE GOVERNMENT OF CANADA WOULD BE GRATEFUL FOR YOUR VIEWS AS TO ANY ADDITIONAL WAYS IN WHICH THE GOOD OFFICES OF THE UNITED NATIONS MIGHT BE

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BROUGHT TO BEAR AT THIS TIME IN RELIEVING THE SUFFERING OF PEOPLE OF NIGERIA. WE, FOR OUR PART, ARE STUDYING POSSIBLE MEASURES WHICH MIGHT BE TAKEN BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO ASSIST NOT ONLY IN ALLEVIATING THE EFFECTS OF THE FIGHTING BUT ALSO IN THE VITAL WORK OF RECONSTRUCTION IN DEVASTATED AREAS.

(SIGNED) YOURS SINCERELY,
MITCHEL SHARP"

BALL

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INFO EUR 15, IO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 02,

SAH 02, AID 28, SA 01, ACDA 16, RSR 01, /170 W

R 211300Z SEP 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2671
INNKSANELTCR/AMEMBASSY LONDON 2806
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
USMISSION USUN

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 12870

SUBJ: OBSERVER MISSION DELAYED

CANADIAN COUNSELOR (PROTECT) TELLS US MEETING OF MILITARY
OBSERVERS WITH FMG HEAD OF STATE GOWON HAS BEEN POSTPONED
UNTIL 23RD BECAUSE POLISH OBSERVER HAS NOT REPEAT NOT YET
ARRIVED ALTHOUGH HE EXPECTED SEPT 21 OR 22.

MATHEWS

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0820

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By MVA Date 10/5/05

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Pol 27-14 Biafra - Nigeria

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PAGE:01 LONDON 12788 201459Z

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ACTION SS 30

INFO SSO 00, CCO 00, NSCE 00, /030 W

O P 201146Z SEP 68
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6146
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY

SECRET LONDON 12788

NOFORN

EXDIS

CORRECTED COPY (TEXT AND HANDLING INSTRUCTIONS)

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN REPS DISCUSS SURRENDER

REF: STATE 241851 *Pol 27-14 B-7*

1. BRITISH HAVE BEEN INFORMED BY CS. ALSO CANADIANS. HENSLEY SAYS KOGBARA REFERRED TO LIKELIHOOD HELP OF "FRIENDLY GOVTS" WOULD BE NEEDED BUT MENTIONED SPECIFICALLY ONLY UK, CANADA AND US. HENSLEY DOES NOT PRECLUDE POSSIBILITY BIAFRANS HAVE BEEN TOUCH WITH OTHERS BUT HAS NO EVIDENCE OF IT.

2. WE CONVEYED SUBSTANCE PARA 3 REFTEL TO HENSLEY WHO EXPRESSED APPRECIATION AND ASKED WHETHER HE COULD INFORM BIAFRANS OF OUR WILLINGNESS BE HELPFUL IN APPROPRIATE WAYS. SINCE BIAFRANS NOT PRESSING FOR REPLY, AND THERE WAS ALWAYS DANGER OF MISINTERPRETATION, WE ASKED HENSLEY NOT TO PASS INFO TO THEM WITHOUT GREEN LIGHT FROM US. IF THEY ASKED ABOUT OUR ATTITUDE HE MIGHT SAY THAT ON BASIS HIS TALKS WITH US OFFICIALS HE WAS SURE WE WOULD BE AS FORTHCOMING AS POSSIBLE IN ASSISTING WITH HUMANITARIAN PROBLEMS AND PERHAPS ON LOGISTICS.

3. WE DISCUSSED DEVELOPMENTS AT LENGTH LAST NIGHT WITH COMMONWEALTH OFFICE'S NORRIS AND TEBBIT WHO SHARE OUR CONCERN FOR SAFETY OF GROUP BUT ARE ENCOURAGED THAT SUCH INFLUENTIAL

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DELEGATION IS TRYING TO DEFLECT BIAFRAN LEADERSHIP FROM ITS SUICIDAL COURSE. THERE ARE OF COURSE TWO MAIN RISKS. FIRST IS THAT THEY WILL NO LONGER BE ABLE TO GET INTO BIAFRA. SECOND IS THAT THEY WILL BE ARRESTED, OR EVEN EXECUTED BY BIAFRAN LEADERS IF THEY DO GET IN AND DELIVER THEIR MESSAGE.

4. BRITISH AND CS BELIEVE LATTER DANGER IS IMPLICIT IN NATURE OF MISSION AND NOTHING COULD BE DONE TO ELIMINATE IT SHORT OF DISCOURAGING GROUP FROM GOING. SINCE THEY ASSUME THAT MISSION OFFERS BEST AVAILABLE CHANCE OF PERSUADING EMBATTLED BIAFRAN LEADERS TO SEE HOPELESSNESS SITUATION, THEY BELIEVE MISSION SHOULD GO FORWARD DESPITE RISKS. (HENSLEY HAS JUST CALLED TO SAY KOGBARA INFORMED HIM FEW MINUTES AGO THAT "ENTIRE GROUP" WILL TRY TO REACH BIAFRA. THIS MEANS AZIKIWE, DIKE, MOJEKWU, NJOKU, NWOKEDI AND DR. OKURU. THEY WILL TRAVEL VIA LISBON AND HOPE, WITH LUCK, TO REACH THEIR DESTINATION BY SATURDAY NIGHT SEPT 21). HENSLEY AND NORRIS BELIEVE THAT INCLUSION OF MOJEKWU IN DELEGATION WILL GREATLY STRENGTHEN ITS BARGAINING POWER WITH BIAFRAN LEADERS. MOJEKWU HAS BEEN A TOUGH BARGAINER AND A FIRM SUPPORTER OF SECESSION. IT WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR OJUKWU TO WRITE HIM OFF AS TREACHEROUS OR DEFEATIST.

5. RE DANGER THAT GROUP WILL BE UNABLE TO GET INTO BIAFRA AT ALL, OR LESSER RISK THAT THEIR AIRCRAFT MIGHT BE INTERCEPTED BY FMG, BRITISH AND CS BELIEVE WE MUST TAKE GROUP'S WORD FOR IT THAT THEY CAN MAKE SECURE TRAVEL ARRANGEMENTS. WE SUGGESTED TO BRITISH AND TO HENSLEY THAT THEY ARRANGE CHANNEL OF COMMUNICATION IN SAO TOME WHICH GROUP COULD USE IF FOR SOME REASON PLANS HAD TO BE CHANGED. THEY AGREED THIS WOULD BE DESIRABLE AND ARE LOOKING INTO IT.

6. NORRIS AND TEBBIT BELIEVE WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO ACT PROMPTLY ALONG LINES MENTIONED BY KOGBARA TO HENSLEY WHEN TIME COMES. MEANWHILE THEY BELIEVE WE MUST WAIT FOR OUTCOME OF BIAFRAN DELEGATION'S MISSION AND AVOID ACTIONS OR STATEMENTS THAT COULD ROCK BOAT. HENSLEY TELLS US THAT MOJEKWU HOPES TO BE BACK IN LISBON SOMETIME TUESDAY BUT THIS IS OBVIOUSLY NO MORE THAN TARGET DATE. BRUCE

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ACTION IO 15

INFO AF 10, EUR 15, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,
RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, NSA 02, SR 01, ORM 03, SAH 02, AID 28,
RSR 01, 147 W

R 202043Z SEP 68
FM USMISSION USUN NY
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3251
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION GENEVA

UNCLAS USUN 6589

UN OBSERVER IN NIGERIA

FOL IS TEXT OF PRESS RELEASE ISSUED BY UN RE GUSSING'S
ASSIGNMENT IN NIGERIA:

IN RESPONSE TO A REQUEST FROM THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA
FOR THE APPOINTMENT BY THE SECRETARY-GENERAL OF AN OBSERVER
TO VISIT THE WAR-AFFECTED AREAS IN NIGERIA, THE SECRETARY-
GENERAL, U THANT, HAS DESIGNATED FOR THIS PURPOSE NILS-
GORAN GUSSING, REPRESENTATIVE OF THE SECRETARY-GENERAL
TO NIGERIA ON HUMANITARIAN ACTIVITIES. MR. GUSSING'S
TASK WILL BE TO SEE FOR HIMSELF THE SITUATION OF THE
POPULATION IN THOSE AREAS, TO MAKE AN ASSESSMENT OF THE
RELIEF NEEDS THERE, AND TO RECOMMEND WAYS AND MEANS FOR
EXPEDITING THE DISTRIBUTION OF RELIEF SUPPLIES. MR.
GUSSING'S VISITS WILL BE UNDERTAKEN AS AN ADDITIONAL RE-
SPONSIBILITY WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE MANDATE GIVEN TO
HIM BY THE SYG UPON HIS APPOINTMENT AS REPRESENTATIVE OF THE
SYG TO NIGERIA ON HUMANITARIAN ACTIVITIES.

IN AGREEING TO ITS REQUEST, THE SYG HAS INFORMED THE FEDERAL
GOVT THAT MR. GUSSING IS RESPONSIBLE ONLY TO THE SYG AND
THAT, IN THE CIRCUMSTANCES, HE CANNOT BE A MEMBER OF A TEAM,

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NOR WILL HE BE ABLE TO SIGN COLLECTIVE REPORTS. THE SYG'S REPRESENTATIVE WILL CONTINUE TO REPORT, AS HE HAS BEEN DOING, DIRECTLY TO THE SYG. THERE WOULD BE NO OBJECTION, HOWEVER, TO THE REPRESENTATIVE'S TAKING ADVANTAGE OF FACILITIES FOR TRAVEL AND TRANSPORTATION WHICH MAY BE PROVIDED FOR OTHERS INVITED BY THE FEDERAL GOVT TO OBSERVE THE WAR-AFFECTED AREA. IT HAS ALSO BEEN EMPHASIZED TO THE FEDERAL GOVT THAT MR. GUSSING WILL REQUIRE COMPLETE FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AND ACCESS TO SOURCES OF RELEVANT INFORMATION.

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RSC 01 SP 02 SS 25 USIA 12 NSA 02 AID 28 SCS 04 SCA 02 SR 01

ORM 03 RSR 01 151 W

R 202131Z SEP 68
FM USMISSION USUN NY
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3254
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

S E I C R E T USUN 6592

NIGERIA

1. FOL REPORT OF CONVERSATION BETWEEN UK COMMONWEALTH SECTY
AND VP OF KENYA EXPRESSING VIEWS AGAINST BRINGING NIGERIAN
RELIEF PROBLEM TO UN GIVEN PEDERSEN BY GLASS (UK) TODAY.

2. IN ANOTHER CONVERSATION INCLUDING BORCH (DENMARK),
IGNATIEFF (CANADA) SAID HIS RECOMMENDATION TO OTTAWA IS
THAT CANADA SHOULD NOT SUBMIT SEPARATE ITEM, WHICH LIKELY
TO DRAW AFRICAN OBJECTION, BUT PUT FORWARD RELIEF RESOLUTION
UNDER SOME ITEM IN SECOND COMMITTEE. BORCH REITERATED
IMPORTANCE TO DENMARK OF BEING ASSOCIATED WITH ANY HUMANITARIAN
MOVE AT OUTSET.

3. UK REPORT READS:

"IN A CONVERSATION WITH THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY YESTERDAY,
THE VICE PRESIDENT OF KENYA EMPHASISED THE SOLIDITY OF AFRICAN
FEELING DEMONSTRATED AT THE OAU ALGIERS MEETING, AT WHICH HE
HAD BEEN PRESENT, ON THE NIGERIAN ISSUE. HIS VIEW WAS THAT THE
FOUR STATES WHICH HAVE RECOGNIZED BIAFRA WERE ISOLATED
AND HAD NO ALTERNATIVE BUT QUIETLY TO ALLOW THE ISSUE TO DIE

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DOWN. HE DOUBTED WHETHER KAUNDA AND NYERERE WOULD, FOR
EXAMPLE, RECOGNISE A BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT IN EXILE.

"ARAP MOI SAID THAT THE NIGERIAN POSITION HAD BEEN GREATLY
HELPED BY A MUCH MORE FORTHCOMING ATTITUDE ON THE PART OF
THE NIGERIAN DELEGATION THAN THEY HAD SHOWN IN THE PAST.
AWOLOWO HAD GONE OUT OF HIS WAY TO SAY THAT THE NIGERIAN
GOVERNMENT WOULD WELCOME VISITS OR SUGGESTIONS FROM FELLOW
AFRICAN STATES. THE OAU HAD MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY EXPECTED
THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT TO TAKE QUESTIONS OF RELIEF VERY
SERIOUSLY. SUBJECT TO THIS MOI ECHOED A VIEW WHICH HE
ASCRIBED TO THE EMPEROR OF ETHIOPIA THAT THE FEDERAL SIDE
HAD BEEN MUCH MORE REASONABLE IN NEGOTIATION THAT HAD THE
BIAFRANS.

"IN REPLY TO A QUESTION FROM THE COMMONWEALTH SECRETARY, MOI
GAVE IT AS HIS OPINION THAT A REFERENCE OF THE NIGERIAN PROBLEM
TO THE UNITED NATIONS WOULD NOT (REPEAT NOT) BE UNDERTAKEN OR
APPROVED BY AFRICAN OPINION. HE THOUGHT THAT IN THE LIGHT
OF THE LARGE MAJORITY AT ALEIERS IN FAVOUR
OF THE INTEGRITY OF NIGERIA, IT WAS OUT OF THE QUESTION THAT
NIGERIA SHOULD BE RAISED IN THE UNITED NATIONS WHETHER BY AN
AFRICAN COUNTRY OR ANY OTHER COUNTRY OF THE AFRO-ASIAN
BLOC SUCH AS INDIA OR PAKISTAN. INDEED HE INDICATED THAT ANY
MOVE BY ANY COUNTRY TO PUT NIGERIA ON THE AGENDA WOULD BE
RESENTED BY AFRICAN COUNTRIES GENERALLY."

GP-4.

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PAGE 01 LONDON 12775 191815Z

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ACTION SS: 30

INFO: SSO: 00, CCO: 00, /030 W

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FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6138
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T LONDON 12775

EXDIS

NOFORN

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN REPS DISCUSS SURRENDER

1. COMMONWEALTH SECRETARIAT'S GERALD HENSLEY HAS INFORMED US ON HIGHLY CONFIDENTIAL BASIS OF CONVERSATION LATE LAST NIGHT (SEPT 18) WITH BIAFRAN REP KOGBARA WHO TELEPHONED HIM ABOUT MIDNIGHT WITH NEWS THAT GROUP OF INFLUENTIAL BIAFRANS HAD DECIDED SECESSION WAS DEAD AND IT WOULD BE FUTILE CONTINUE STRUGGLE. BIAFRAN REPS WERE MEETING IN PARIS MORNING SEPT 19 TO DISCUSS SITUATION FURTHER. ACCORDING KOGBARA, GROUP INCLUDED AZIKIWE, DIKE, MOJEKU, NJOKU, NWOKEDI AS WELL AS OTHER WHOM HE DID NOT NAME.

2. KOGBARA SAID GROUP BELIEVED FIRST NECESSITY WAS TO STOP FIGHTING. CEASEFIRE WOULD HAVE TO BE NEGOTIATED, PERHAPS BETWEEN FIELD COMMANDERS, FOLLOWED BY BIAFRAN SURRENDER AND LAYING DOWN OF ARMS. THEY WERE OPPOSED TO ANY EFFORT CONTINUE RESISTANCE BY MEANS GUERRILLA WARFARE. HENSLEY HAD QUESTIONED HIM CLOSELY ABOUT "CEASEFIRE" AND CONCLUDED KOGBARA ENTERTAINED NO ILLUSIONS ABOUT BIAFRA'S ABILITY RESUME STRUGGLE. KOGBARA SAID HE FEARED PANIC MIGHT SET IN AS FMG FORCES APPROACHED UMUAHIA. IT WAS VITALLY IMPORTANT TO NEGOTIATE SURRENDER QUICKLY WHILE THERE WAS STILL TIME FOR ORDERLY TRANSFER OF POWER.

3. THIS AFTERNOON (SEPT 19) KOGBARA RANG HENSLEY AGAIN TO SAY THAT PARIS MEETING HAD TAKEN PLACE. IT HAD BEEN DECIDED

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THAT SOME OF BIAFRANS AT MEETING WOULD ATTEMPT RETURN HOME TONIGHT IN ORDER TO URGE ON BIAFRAN LEADERSHIP DESIRABILITY OF SURRENDER. IT WAS GROUP'S IDEA TO CONVOKE MEETING OF BIAFRAN ASSEMBLY WHICH, IT WAS HOPED, BY NOW REALIZED FUTILITY OF FURTHER RESISTANCE. KOGBARA AND OTHERS BELIEVED IT WAS IMPORTANT FOR ASSEMBLY TO MAKE FORMAL DECISION TO SURRENDER AND PERHAPS ALSO PUBLIC DECLARATION ACCEPTING ONE NIGERIA, SO THAT RESPONSIBILITY WOULD BE SPREAD AS WIDELY AS POSSIBLE.

4. KOGBARA TOLD HENSLEY THAT GROUP MIGHT NEED HELP OF OUTSIDE POWERS, INCLUDING US, IF AND WHEN DECISION TO SURRENDER WAS FORMALLY ADOPTED BY ASSEMBLY AND BIAFRAN LEADERSHIP. HE THOUGHT HELP WOULD BE NEEDED ON AT LEAST THREE POINTS: (A) TO URGE FMG TO ACCEPT BIAFRAN SURRENDER WITH ORDERLY AND DIGNIFIED TRANSFER OF POWER; (B) TO HELP WITH REFUGEES WHO WERE PRESSING INTO SHRINKING BIAFRAN TERRITORY; AND (C) IF NECESSARY, TO SUPPLY ADDITIONAL OBSERVERS TO SUPERVISE LAYING DOWN OF ARMS BY BIAFRAN FORCES. HENSLEY COMMENTED TO US THAT IT WAS BY NO MEANS CLEAR WHETHER WE WOULD BE ASKED TO PLAY ANY ROLE BUT KOGBARA HAD SPECIFICALLY MENTIONED AMERICAN ASSISTANCE AND HENSLEY THEREFORE THOUGHT WE SHOULD BE ALERTED.

5. HENSLEY SAID IN CONCLUSION THAT HE COULD NOT ASSESS GROUP'S CHANCES OF PERSUADING BIAFRAN LEADERSHIP AND ASSEMBLY TO SURRENDER. IT WAS EVEN PROBLEMATIC WHETHER THEY WOULD BE ABLE GET THROUGH TO UMUAHIA. HE BELIEVED HOWEVER THAT KOGBARA WAS TRUTHFUL ABOUT COMPOSITION OF GROUP AND WHAT IT WANTED TO DO. HE NOTED KOGBARA HAD REFERRED TO PRO-FMG RESOLUTION IN ALGIERS AS LAST STRAW. HENSLEY SAID HE WOULD KEEP US ADVISED OF FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS. BRUCE

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<i>Mr. Read 23</i>				
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REF : LONDON 12775 *Pol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria*

SUBJ: Biafran Reps. Discuss Surrender

1. Assume UK has been informed of Biafran development by CW Secretariat.

Please confirm this urgently from Hensley and ~~then~~ ^{then} raise subject with appropriate UK officials. We most anxious to obtain their reaction and any ideas they may have to foster this development.

2. Fact that Biafran group proceeding home at what would seem some risk to their personal safety causes us some concern. Do CW and UK share this concern?

3. Please thank Hensley for conveying information to us and state that we are prepared to be as forthcoming as possible in terms of humanitarian relief activities in cooperation with others. Re observers we believe this would be basically an African - CW problem and we assume personnel would come from these sources. We would of course be pleased to consider ways in which we might be helpful in logistics matters if there should be a need.

Drafted by:

Nigeria Task Force: *Rm* Melbourne

Tel. Ext.

XX 261

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by:

AF - Ambassador *CRM* Mosk

Clearances:

AF - Mr. Palmer (substance) *Rm*

S/S - Mr. Parker *RP*

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SEP 23 8 31 AM 1968
INFO : IBADAN, KADUNA, LAGOS
ANA BRANCH

A-4590

NO.
R/S file

FROM : Amembassy LONDON DATE: September 19, 1968

SUBJECT : "Why Biafran Leaders Should Surrender": Times
Article by Margery Perham

REF :

The Embassy transmits herewith for the information of addressees, an article from the London Times of September 12 urging Biafran leaders not to fight to the bitter end but seek a negotiated settlement of their differences with the Federal Military Government in Lagos. The article is by Margery Perham well-known English scholar and lecturer on African subjects whose association with Nigeria goes back to 1931. Miss Perham has just returned from a short visit to the FMG-controlled areas of the battlefield.

Her article contends that Nigerian leaders, far from being bent on genocide, wish to resolve the conflict by negotiation and to give the Ibos a fair break. She concludes, "Nigeria needs the Ibos; even more the Ibos need Nigeria."

BRUCE

ENCLOSURE: Article (as stated above)

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Contents and Classification Approved by: POL/RISpiers
Clearances: _____

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By M/MARA Date 10/5/03

ENCLOSURE

LONDON 11.22. September 12, 1966

Page 1 of 2

Why Biafran leaders should surrender

By Margery Perham, who has just returned from a tour of Nigeria

EMBITTERED RETURN

The Nigerian situation is complex and obscure as well as tragic, and anyone who presumes to speak about it must provide some credentials. As the war takes the terrible form of the siege of a whole people, emotion rises higher and the Ibo and their friends in Britain feel an anguish that tends to master reason. My own position is that of a student of African affairs, but one who cannot claim to have the cool detachment with which, by some academic standards, I ought to observe the present conflict.

What are my credentials? I first went to Nigeria in 1931 when I spent a year there and wrote a book on its administration. I have kept in touch with it ever since. I was a guest at the independence celebrations and saw the joy and hope of the crowds as the new flag of independent Nigeria was run up. I was the friend and biographer of Lord Lugard, who in 1912 created the present Nigeria out of the three main tribal areas, Hausa North, Yoruba West, and Ibo East.

I had every political and sentimental reason to want this potentially great African state, with something over 60 million inhabitants, to advance in unity and wealth. But it is one thing for a variety of tribes (and there are many more in Nigeria beside the three main groups) to live together in peace and cooperation when they were all held within a seemingly unassailable framework of an external power, and quite another for them to hold together when that power departs.

Like others I watched with dismay the tragic sequence of party bitterness and the political assassinations of 1966. In the disorders which followed it was certain the Ibo who suffered most, though the statistics of massacres differ wildly, it was not surprising that the Ibo military governor, Ojukwu, began to call his people back from the other regions or that the sense of rejection after the massacres should have led on to the idea of secession.

Secession is a wicked word among African leaders for the obvious reason that as nearly every African state began as an area marked out by European pioneers in Africa and by diplomatists in Europe they could all begin to shake and fall apart if tribal prejudices were allowed free will. But the situation can arise when secession is a lesser evil than the enforced enclosure of a quasi-rebellious tribe.

This is what the Ibo felt. Nigeria had been their oyster. Propelled by the crowded poverty of their own region and attracted by opportunities which their vigorous initiative qualified them to take they overflowed into the other regions. They occupied a place not unlike that of the Jews in eastern Europe or the Asians in east Africa. Such people are seldom popular, however much they galvanize an economy. To add to their unpopularity it was Ibo officers who murdered the prime minister, the premiers of the northern and western regions, and many of their non-Ibo fellow officers. So the Ibo exodus went into reverse and they crowded back into their tribal area with a sense of bitter injustice; and step by step moved towards the idea of secession.

Politically they seemed to have a case. Numerically the Eastern Province, as it was then, enclosed some 12 million people (there is no valid census in Nigeria) and was numerically and economically superior to many independent African states. But when the non-Ibo segments to the south wavered in their support and, with the advent of the Federal army, went over to the Federal side, Biafra became a questionable proposition. It had lost its access to the sea, its major harbour of Port Harcourt, and its potentially booming oil wells. The Federal army slowly increased in numbers and efficiency, powerfully aided by its British Saladin armoured cars and mortar artillery. Biafra began to shrink on the map.

How should we, the British, observers of this tragic little war, assess the situation today? We know the Biafran case. For many months a great mass of Ibo documentation has piled up in my study. I think I can measure their passionate revulsion from the Federation. I admire the Ibo and have many friends among them. I believed that in the face of their suffering and their apparent rejection, the abstraction of the former Eastern Province offered a viable state. But with the excision from Biafra of the invaluable southern region and with the encircling grip of the Federal army, the end now seems certain. Should the Biafrans' friends encourage them in their determination to fight to the last and die, men, women and children, by war, starvation and disease? Must we not think also of those splendid people from the outside world, nurses, doctors and missionaries, who have gone in or stayed in to help them? Is it not better for the Biafrans to live not to fight but to work and flourish another day?

EVIDENCE OF MURDER

The Biafrans' reply was simple and to them unanswerable. It was, and is, that surrender means total destruction—and here the emotional word genocide comes into use. Of course, with these new makeshift African states there is material for their dark pessimism. The recent history of Nigeria has been a bloody one. Some of my Ibo friends have brought me letters from home telling in convincing form of the massacre of civilians down to mere boys killed in their homes in front of their mothers. There can be no doubt that there have been counter-atrocities: the statistics of massacres are seldom either complete or convincing in a population still hyphenated by tribes; real unity is still only in the making and it is mostly to be found in the top levels of the civil services and the intelligentsia. Religion is also a barrier but a less effective one among the tolerant Africans than most other peoples. Certainly the Federal army is not a Muslim force attacking the very Christian Ibo; it is a very mixed force coming from the relatively neutral middle belt.

The Federal government is struggling to rebuild unity. As yet we cannot be sure that they will be able to hold this vast country together, but it would seem that such influence as the ex-colonizers still have should be used to serve the ideal rather than indulge in easy condemnation of the weaknesses of the real. Are we, especially those of us who have felt the force of the Ibo cause, to join with them now in what seems a hopeless and suicidal cause? Are we to fall in with President de Gaulle, who is adapting to Africa somewhat the same policy which he applied towards Canada? French policy was to fragment their west African empire, a policy which certainly made easier the maintenance of French influence through economic and even military support.

Yet the policy of our own government has been less than candid. It has supplied the mortars and Saladin armoured cars which are said to represent only 15 per cent in monetary value of the arms supplied from outside, but which have been far more effective than the expensive Russian Migs and Ilyushin aircraft. We may hope that this whole business of our trade in arms will in the near future be reconsidered.

The issue now may well be the survival of the Ibo, and for myself I found it difficult to join them in their apparent death-wish. It was with this terrible issue in mind that I went to Nigeria to try to find out if there could be a less fatal

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ENCLOSURE

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conclusion. Of course, in a country at war I had to make use of Federal facilities. But Nigerian officialdom is

neither very close knit nor is it efficient in subterfuge and cover-work. Also I had many old friends and contacts. My main purpose was to test the possibility, ridiculed in Biafra, that the Nigerian Government did not plan their destruction. I found to my surprise that many thousands of Ibos were living safely at various levels in Lagos; some, though not many, holding senior posts in the Government. One, a permanent secretary at one of the Ministries, gave a large party at his home for me, attended by many senior officials. In addition, I found that a considerable department was being constituted, headed by senior Ibo officials, to devise plans for the reincorporation of Ibos in the reconquered areas.

Flying to other parts of the country I saw the beginnings of administration in the reconquered areas with Ibo officials in charge. I saw markets reopened with Ibos starting again to trade alongside the Hausa and Federal soldiers, and Ibo women strolling peaceably about the market. Making a test demand to inspect a large structure near the road, I found it full of Ibo women complete with beds, busily cooking for their reasonably healthy children. It was a transit camp from which they could be dispersed to their homes. In more than one place I found a scheme in operation to list and protect abandoned Ibo houses and to retain for their original owners any rents paid by other occupiers. All this is patchy and makeshift, but it is a very long way from genocide.

I do not doubt that this civil restorative work is incomplete and still less that the Federal soldiery, raw recruits with the barest training and with little knowledge of the Geneva conventions, may lose their control in fighting or even afterwards. But the senior men, civil and military, are now well aware of the dangers. Colonel Adekunle, the so-called "Black Scorpion", famous for his ferocity, of which I felt the lash when he came from the capture of Aba to see me at his military headquarters, is also be ferocious in the maintenance of discipline, as his recent public execution of an offending officer demonstrated. In a three-hour talk with General Gowon I was impressed by the sincerity of this very Christian soldier, especially in his decision to win back the Ibos by moderation following victory.

WHY THE DISGRACE?

The second man in the military government with whom I discussed these issues was Hassan Katsina, who had risked his life to save the situation during the Kano massacre when his company continued to attack the Ibo.

I have quoted only a fraction of the evidence which leads me to question whether Ojukwu's insistence that surrender equals genocide is altogether valid. I do not understand why to advocate surrender rather than to dedicate some millions of people to death by war and starvation should be regarded as a disgraceful proposal. Even if such were their desire, the Federal authorities could not easily get away with a policy of brutal repression. The affairs of Nigeria are not being transacted in a corner: journalists and practical philanthropists of many nations through the hotels and visit the battlefields.

The Federal government, as a sensitive and sovereign entity, has shown some measure of patience and cooperation over the mercy flights. Humanity calls for the end of this monstrous siege and the friends of Nigeria should bring their influence to bear upon both sides to work out a compromise. It was in this spirit that, entirely upon my own initiative and using my own words, I broadcast from Lagos an appeal to Ojukwu to surrender.

Nigeria needs the Ibos; even more the Ibos need Nigeria.

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By	MM NARA
Date	10/5/03



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSAE 00, NSCE 00, SSO 00, USIE 00,
CCO 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25,
RSR 01, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCSE 00, SCA 02, SAH 02, SA 01, / 40 W

O P 110936Z SEP 68 ZFF-4
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2497
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMCONSUL IBADAN
AMCONSUL KADUNA

UNCLAS LAGOS 12551

SUBJECT:- FOR POSSIBLE USE SEPTEMBER 11 CONGRESSIONAL HEARING:
FMG IMPLEMENTATION OF ADDIS PROPOSALS

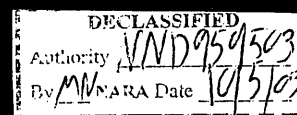
1. GOVERNMENT-OWNED POST REPORTS THAT LEADER OF FMG DELEGATION TO
ADDIS TALKS FEMI OKUNNU ANNOUNCED UPON HIS RETURN EVENING SEPT
10 THAT FMG INTENDS TO IMPLEMENT UNILATERALLY QTE FINAL
COMPROMISE PROPOSALS PUT FORWARD BY HIM AT PEACE TALKS. UNQTE (EMB
COMMENT: SUSPECT OKUNNU TALKING ON OWN AND PROBABLY NOT REPRESENTING
FMG.)

2. PROPOSALS TO BE IMPLEMENTED REPORTED AS FOLLOWS:

A) DIRECT AIRLIFT FROM FERNANDO PO TO ULI-IHIALA AIRSTRIP OF THE

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3,500 TONS OF RELIEF MATERIALS ACCUMULATED ON FERNANDO PO.
OPERATION TO BE UNDERTAKEN BY ICRC IN CONJUNCTION WITH OAU
CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE.

B) IMMEDIATE HANDING OVER TO INTERNATIONAL TEAM OF SUPERVISORS OF
RELIEF DEPOTS IN LAGOS, WARRI, ASABA AND ENUGU FOR PURPOSE OF
ACCUMULATING RELIEF MATERIALS PREPARATORY TO OPERATION OF ALL
ROAD, AIR AND RIVER AND SEA CORRIDORS PROPOSED BY HIM AND ACCEPTED
BY FMG.

C) MOVEMENT OF RELIEF SUPPLIES BY INTERNATIONAL TEAM OF SUPERVISORS
ALONG ALL LAND AND WATER CORRIDORS, NAMELY: ENUGU-AWGU, ASABA-
ONITSHA, WARRI-SAPELE AND ASABA-OGUTA.

D) AFTER EVACUATION OF 3,500 TONS OF SUPPLIES ON FERNANDO PO, ICRC
AND INTERNATIONAL TEAM OF SUPERVISORS WILL CONTINUE AIRLIFT OF
RELIEF SUPPLIES ACCUMULATED AT LAGOS DEPOT FROM LAGOS TO ULI-IHALA
AIRSTRIIP FOR PERIOD OF TWO WEEKS SUBJECT TO WEEKLY RENEWAL.

E) ALL INTERNATIONAL RELIEF AGENCIES WILL BE FORMALLY INVITED TO
MAKE THEIR RELIEF SUPPLIES AVAILABLE UNDER AUSPICES OF INTERNATIONAL
TEAM OF SUPERVISORS.

F) INTERNATIONAL TEAM OF SUPERVISORS WILL BE MADE UP AS FOLLOWS,
AS RECOMMENDED BY HIM: REPRESENTATIVES OF OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE
OF SIX PLUS REPRESENTATIVES OF ICRC.

3. COMMENT: REUTERS REPORTS FROM NAIROBI, WHERE DELEGATION STOPPED
EN ROUTE FROM ADDIS, AND FROM LAGOS AIRPORT STATEMENT THAT OKUNNU
PLEDGED QTE REINSTATEMENT FOR ALL IBOS UNQTE AND STATED THAT REBELS
MUST GIVE UP SECESSION BEFORE FURTHER PEACE TALKS. WHEN ASKED ABOUT
FUTURE OF OJUKWU, OKUNNU REPORTEDLY SAID QTE WHEN HE LAUNCHED
REBELLION OJUKWU SAID HIMSELF THAT HE WAS SIGNING OWN DEATH WARRANT.
I AM ONLY QUOTING HIS WORDS. I DO NOT KNOW WHAT WILL HAPPEN TO HIM.
UNQTE ASKED IF OJUKWU WOULD FACE TREASON TRIAL, OKUNNU SAID QTE
I DO NOT KNOW. SOLDIERS KNOW HOW TO DEAL WITH EACH OTHER. OJUKWU
IS SOLDIER. UNQTE

4. ATTEMPTING TO OBTAIN COPY OF STATEMENT AND ANY FURTHER DETAILS
AVAILABLE. MATHEWS

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GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25,
SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, SCSE 00, SCA 02, RSR 01 / 137 W

O R 111428Z SEP 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2504
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEVBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
USMISSION GENEVA
UBMISSION USUN NEW YORK 464
AMCONSUL IBADAN
AMCONSUL KADUNA
STATE GRNC

UNCLAS SECTION ONE OF TWO LAGOS 12558/1

FOR POSSIBLE USE SEPTEMBER 11 CONGRESSIONAL HEARING

SUBJECT: OKVNUU STATEMENTS ON RETURN FROM ADDIS TALKS

REF: LAGOS 12551

1. EMBASSY HAS NOW RECEIVED COPY OF OKUNNU STATEMENTS REPORTED
REFTEL, ISSUED AS PRESS RELEASE FROM FMG MININFO, MAKING STATEMENTS
APPEAR MORE LIKELY AS STATEMENTS OF OFFICIAL FMG POLICY. IN ADDITION
TO UNILATERAL IMPLEMENTATION OF POINTS LISTED IN REFTEL, STATEMENT
ALSO INCLUDES ANNEX QTE FEDERAL PROPOSALS FOR GUARANTEES FOR PEOPLE
IN AREAS STILL HELD BY OTHER SIDE. UNQTE FULL TEXT OF LIST OF

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GUARANTEES OFFERED (NONESSENTIAL WORDS OMITTED) AS FOLLOWS:

A) THE FEDGOVT IN REUNITED NIGERIA WILL NOT BE FOREIGN GOVERNMENT AS IT APPEARS TO DELEGATION ON OTHER SIDE AT PRESENT. IBOS FROM EAST CENTRAL STATE WILL PARTICIPATE IN FEDGOVT ON SAME BASIS AS PEOPLE FROM OTHER STATES IN EXECUTIVE, ADMINISTRATIVE, MIL, POLICE, JUDICIAL AND OTHER ASPECTS OF GOVERNMENT. PRESENT COMPOSITION OF CIVILIAN MEMBERS OF FEC IS ONE COMMISSIONER FROM EACH OF ELEVEN STATES. ONLY STATE NOT REPRESENTED ON FEC AT PRESENT IS EAST CENTRAL STATE (BECAUSE) FROM STATE (THERE IS NO ONE) WHO APPEARS TO COMMAND CONFIDENCE OF STATE IN DEFERENCE TO NEED TO APPOINT SOMEBODY (WITH CONFIDENCE OF) PEOPLE OF THAT STATE. SUCH A PERSON WOULD

BE APPOINTED FEDERAL COMMISSIONER WITH A PORTFOLIO AS SOON AS POSSIBLE. AS IN OTHER ELEVEN STATES MILITARY GOVERNOR WILL, AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, BE APPOINTED TO EAST CENTRAL STATE. HE WILL BE IBO AND WILL BE MEMBER OF SMC ON SAME BASIS AS THE OTHER MILITARY GOVERNORS.

FURTHERMORE, CONSISTENT WITH NATIONAL AIMS OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND ESPECIALLY WITH ITS ALREADY MADE OFFER TO GRANT GENERAL AND

AMNESTY IT IS POLICY OF FEDGOVT TO SEE TO REINSTATE AND RE-EMPLOY FORMER FED PUBLIC SERVANTS, BOTH IN GOVERNMENT SERVICE AND IN CORPORATIONS WHO FOR ONE REASON OR OTHER HAD TO LEAVE THEIR POSTS IN PAST TWO YEARS.

B) STABLE MEANS OF LIVELIHOOD FOR INDIVIDUALS IN A SOCIETY IS A PRE-CONDITION FOR FUNCTIONING OF A VIABLE SOCIAL ORDER AND ANY PROPER SYSTEM OF LAW AND ORDER BASED ON JUSTICE. IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT FEDGOVT LAYS GREAT EMPHASIS ON ITS PROPOSALS AND POLICIES FOR REHABILITATION OF PERSONS DISPLACED FROM THEIR STABLE SOURCES OF LIVELIHOOD AS RESULT OF TRAGIC EVENTS OF LAST TWO YEARS, UP TO AND INCLUDING CURRENT CIVIL WAR. NATIONAL REHABILITATION COMMISSION HAS ALREADY

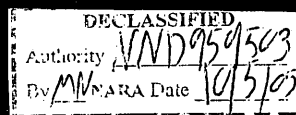
BEEN SET UP WHICH HAS RESPONSIBILITY, IN COOPERATION WITH STATE GOVERNMENTS, TO REHABILITATE ALL DISPLACED PERSONS.

C) ADMINISTRATION OF EAST CENTRAL STATE WILL BE IN HANDS OF PEOPLE OF THAT STATE. FED PEACE PLAN ENSURES THAT SOME OF STATE COMMISSIONERS

WILL BE DRAWN FROM PEOPLE IN OTHER SIDE. IN ADDITION, LAW ENFORCEMENT AGENCIES, JUDICIARY AND CIVILIAN ADMINISTRATORS WILL BE IBOS

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OF EAST CENTRAL STATE ORIGIN AS IS CASE IN OTHER STATES. IT SHOULD BE STATED THAT ALREADY UNDER THE ASIKA ADMINISTRATION IN EAST CENTRAL STATE RETURNING PUBLIC SERVANTS OF FORMER EASTERN REGIONAL GOVERNMENT ARE CURRENTLY BEING RE-INSTATED AND RE-EMPLOYED.

D) POLICING OF EAST CENTRAL STATE WILL BE PROVIDED BY NIGERIAN POLICE FORCE IN WHICH RANK AND FILE IN EACH STATE ARE NORMALLY PEOPLE DRAWN FROM INDIGENES OF THAT STATE. IN CASE OF EAST CENTRAL STATE, IT WILL BE GUARANTEED THAT ALL POLICEMEN AND OFFICERS WOULD BE DRAWN FROM PEOPLE OF EAST CENTRAL STATE ORIGIN. THESE ARE PEOPLE WHO COME INTO DAILY CONTACT WITH ORDINARY PEOPLE AS INSTRUMENT OF LAW AND ORDER. THIS PATTERN OF POLICING IS ALREADY ADOPTED IN RIVERS AND THE SOUTH EASTERN STATES, AREAS OF FORMER EASTERN REGION NOW UNDER

FEDERAL CONTROL.

E) POSSIBLE GUARANTEES REGARDING ARMED FORCES ARE INDEED LIMITED. ARMED FORCES MUST REMAIN ONE SINCE THERE CANNOT BE TWO STANDING ARMIES UNDER INDEPENDENT AND SOVEREIGN COMMAND IN ONE COUNTRY. ON OTHER HAND,

AFTER BITTERNESS OF CIVIL WAR AND CONSEQUENT PROPAGANDA FROM OTHER SIDE, IT IS NATURAL FOR MANY PEOPLE ON OTHER SIDE TO FEAR FOR THEIR LIVES UNTIL MUTUAL CONFIDENCE IS RE-ESTABLISHED. IT IS IN RECOGNITION OF THIS THAT FEDERAL PEACE PLAN INCLUDES ESTABLISHMENT OF AN EXTERNAL OBSERVER FORCE TO PROVIDE ADDED CONFIDENCE OF SECURITY FOR THE PEOPLE IN AREAS AT PRESENT UNDER CONTROL OF OTHER SIDE. THE DETAILS OF SUCH A FORCE IN THE CONTEXT OF ONE COUNTRY, ITS FUNCTIONS, COMPOSITION, NUMBER, COMMAND, FINANCING AND DURATION OF PRESENCE CAN BE NEGOTIATED DURING THESE TALKS.

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INFO EUR 15, IO 13, SSO 00, NSCE 00, RSR 01, USIE 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00,
GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25,
SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, SCSE 00, SCA 02, /137 W
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O R 111438Z SEP 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2505
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
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AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NY
AMCONSUL IBADAN
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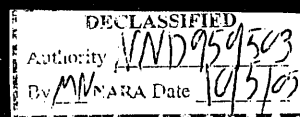
UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 LAGOS 12558/2

F) AS ALREADY STATED, FEDERAL ARMY WILL NOT NORMALLY PERFORM
ORDINARY POLICING DUTIES AND THEIR PRESENCE WILL ONLY BE REQUIRED
WHERE THERE IS A THREAT TO PEACE OR BREAKDOWN OF LAW AND ORDER.
THERE IS THEREFORE NO NEED TO STATION FEDERAL FORCES IN ALL PARTS
OF THE EAST CENTRAL STATE. FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DELEGATION PREPARED
TO NEGOTIATE NUMBER OF STRATEGIC PLACES WHERE FEDERAL FORCES ARE TO
BE STATIONED IN EAST CENTRAL STATE. PRESENCE OF FEDERAL FORCES WILL NOT
BE FELT BY ORDINARY MAN UNDER THESE ARRANGEMENTS UNTIL CONFIDENCE
IS RESTORED.

G) AS FOR DISARMING OF REBEL TROOPS IT SHOULD BE EXPLAINED THAT
INTENTION OF FEDGOVT IS TO RE-ABSORB IBOS ON INDIVIDUAL BASIS

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IN FEDERAL ARMED FORCES AS IS CASE WITH OTHER ETHNIC GROUPS. PURPOSE IS NOT TO DISARM FORCES UNDER CONTROL OF OTHER SIDE AND DEBAR IBOS AS A PEOPLE FROM EVEN PARTICIPATING IN ARMED FORCES OF THEIR COUNTRY. FEDERAL OFFER OF AMNESTY IS RELEVANT HERE. IT WILL FACILITATE REABSORPTION OF IBOS INTO FEDERAL ARMED FORCES AS CONFIDENCE IS SLOWLY RE-ESTABLISHED. ROLE AND DURATION OF EXTERNAL OBSERVER FORCE ARE EQUALLY RELEVANT CONSIDERATIONS HERE.

PRESS RELEASE CONCLUDES WITH FOLLOWING OBSERVATIONS: QTE. FEDGOVT DELEGATION IS PREPARED TO CONSIDER ANY ADDITIONAL GUARANTEES OTHER SIDE MAY PROPOSE IN CONTEXT OF ONE COUNTRY SOLUTION WITHOUT WHICH THERE CAN BE NO MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS ON QUESTION OF GUARANTEES FOR SECURITY OF PEOPLE IN AREAS AT PRESENT UNDER CONTROL OF OTHER SIDE. THERE IS NO PROBLEM OF GUARANTEE IN AREAS OF EAST CENTRAL STATE UNDER FEDERAL CONTROL SINCE FEDERAL FORCES INCLUDING POLICEMEN AND OFFICERS OF IBO ORIGIN IN THESE AREAS ARE PROTECTING LIVES OF CIVILIANS THERE EVEN UNDER WARTIME CONDITIONS. IN ABAKALIKI PROVINCE ALONE THERE ARE WELL OVER 600,000 IBOS UNDER FEDERAL CONTROL. IN VILLAGES AROUND ENUGU THERE ARE OVER 100,000 CIVILIANS. IN MID-WEST, THERE IS IBO POPULATION OF ABOUT 500,000. IN LAGOS AND WESTERN STATES, THERE ARE OVER 50,000 IBOS UNDER FEDERAL CONTROL. IN ALL, THERE ARE AT PRESENT ABOUT TWO MILLION IBOS IN ALL AREAS UNDER FEDERAL CONTROL BUT THEY DO NOT REQUIRE ANY SPECIAL GUARANTEES NOW AND WILL NOT REQUIRE ANY SPECIAL ARRANGEMENTS WHEN PEACE HAS BEEN RESTORED THROUGH THE NEGOTIATIONS IN ADDIS ABABA. UNQTE

2. EMBASSY COMMENT: THESE GUARANTEES HAVE ALMOST ALL BEEN MADE AT ONE TIME OR OTHER IN PAST IN VARYING CONTEXTS. THIS STATEMENT, HOWEVER, PULLS THEM ALL TOGETHER IN COHERENT FORM. COMPARISON OF PRESS RELEASE TEXT OF POINTS FOR QTE UNILATERAL IMPLEMENTATION, UNQTE CONFIRMS POINTS ARE AS REPORTED REFTEL. MATHEWS

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MW NARA
Date	10/5/03



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 12552 111256Z

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ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, SR 01, E 15, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 02, AID 28, ACDA 16,
CIAE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25,
USIA 12, NSA 02, RSR 01, /186 W

R 110930Z SEP 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2498
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
RUDTCRJPAMEMBASSY LONDON 2763
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
CINCSRIKE/CINCMCAFSA
DIA

CONFIDENTIAL LAGOS 12552

SUBJ: NIGERIA: INTERNATIONAL OBSERVER TEAM

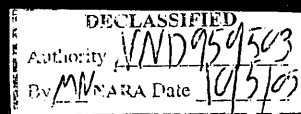
REF: LAGOS 12480

FOLLOWING TELEGRAM OF SEPT 9 ON EYCVE SUBJECT GIVEN US BY
UK HICOM (PROTECT):

1. QTE DA HAS NOW DISCUSSED WITH EKPOH (CHIEF OF STAFF,
SUPREME HEADQUARTERS) WHO SAID THERE WOULD BE NO OBJECTION
TO EACH NOMINATED OBSERVER HAVING AN ASSISTANT. WHEN MY
SWEDISH COLLEAGUE PUT THE SAME QUESTION TO BABA GANA ON
SATURDAY, LATTER SAID THAT WHILE HE PERSONALLY SAW NO
OBJECTION, REQUEST SHOULD BE PUT TO FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.
GUSSING (SEE PARA 7 BELOW) WHO IS DETERMINED TO HAVE AN
ASSISTANT, INTENDS TO ASSUME THIS WILL BE ACCEPTABLE
AND MERELY NOTIFY HIS APPOINTMENT TO FMG IN DUE COURSE.
MY INCLINATION IS THAT IN REPLYING FORMALLY TO BABA GANA'S
LETTER WE SHOULD MERELY MENTION THAT ALEXANDER WILL BE

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 12552 111256Z

ACCOMPANIED BY (NAMED) ASSISTANT.

2. QTE EKPOH SAID THEIR PRESENT IDEA IS THAT ON ARRIVAL OBSERVERS WILL BE BRIEFED BY FMG AND WILL APPOINT A CHAIRMAN. THEY WOULD PREFER LATTER TO BE FROM COMMONWEALTH, PERHAPSCANADA. OBSERVERS WILL THEN MAKE A JOINT VISIT TO EACH OF THE THREE DIVISIONAL AREAS AND MAKE A JOINT REPORT ON THEIR RETURN. THEREAFTER THEY WOULD SPLIT UP INTO THREE GROUPS OF TWO (ONE FOR EACH DIVISIONAL AREA). THE CHAIRMAN WOULD GO

THE AREA WHERE FMG EXPECTED MOST MILITARY ACTIVITY TO BE.

3. QTE THESE TENTATIVE IDEAS SEEM SENSIBLE AND SHOULD PROVIDE BASIS ON WHICH THE OBSERVER TEAM ON ARRIVAL SHOULD BE ABLE TO REACH AGREEMENT. BUT I DO NOT BELIEVE FMG HAVE YET FULLY MADE UP THEIR MINDS. FROM HIS DISCUSSIONS WITH ABA GANA MY SWEDISH COLLEAGUE GOT THE IMPRESSION THAT THEY WERE READY TO BE FLEXIBLE AND CO-OPERATIVE.

4. QTE EKPOH SAID THEY WOULD LIKE THE CHAIRMAN TO HAVE A HELICOPTER, BUT ALSO INDIATED THAT FMG WOULD FIND IT DIFFICULT TO PROVIDE ONE. REMARK IN PARA 5 OF MYTEL... MUST HAVE BEEN MADE IN HOPE THAT IT WOULD BE PROVIDED BY SOMEONE ELSE. I BELIEVE THERE MAY BE DIFFICULTIES IF FMG DO NOT TREAT ALL OBSERVERS ALIKE.

5. QTE COMMUNICATION. EKPOH SAID THAT EACH OBSERVER WILL BE PERMITTED FREE USE OF DIVISIONAL COMMAND RADIO NETS.

6. EKPOH PARTICULARLY STRESSED IMPORTANCE OF JBLNT REPORTS AND IS ALIVE TO THE DIFFICULTIES INVOLVED IN GETTING ALL SIX OBSERVERS TO THE SCENE ON ANY INCIDENT.

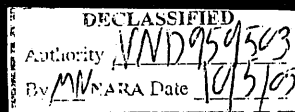
7. QTE GUSSING IS REPLYING TO FMG'S LETTER TODAY ONBEHALF OF SECRETARY GENERAL AGREEING IN PRINCIPLE TO PROVIDE OBSERVER, RAISINGNO POINTS ON TERMS OF REFERENCE, BUT MAKING IT CLEAR THAT UN OBSERVER WILL BE UNABLE TO TAKE PART AS ONE OF A GROUP OR PARTICIPATE IN A JOINT GROUPEPORT. UNQTE

GP-3

MATHEWS

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 ADDIS 05655 102144Z

87
ACTION AF 16

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00,

GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25,

SAH 02, E 15, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 02, RSR 01, /158 W
.....

P R 101630Z SEP 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6975
INFONGUTAIJ/AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN 132
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
RUTALS AMEMBASSY LAGOS 343
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5655

SUBJ: AJOURNMENT ADDIS NIGERIA TALKS

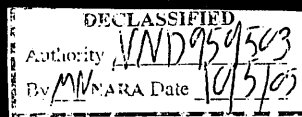
1. TEXT OF HIM'S ADJOURNMENT STATEMENT SENT ADDRESSEE POSTS
ADDIS 5643.

2. BY TRANSFERRING VENUE FOR CONSIDERATION NIGERIAN MATTER
TO ALGIERS AND PROPOSING TO WORK OUT "REMAINING DETAILS"
THERE IN FULL CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE, EMPEROR HAS MOVED
ADROITLY TO HOLD DOOR OPEN FOR AGREEMENT ON RELIEF AS WELL
AS TO AVOID SUCH ONUS AS MIGHT HAVE FALLEN TO HIM FROM
EVENTUAL FAILURE OF NEGOTIATIONS. HE APPEARS TO BE RELYING
NOW ON CONS. COMMITTEE AND OAU PRESSURE ON FMG TO BRING
LATTER TO ACCEPTANCE AIR CORRIDOR TO OBILAGO PENDING OUTCOME
OTHER EFFORTS OBTAIN BIAFRAN APPROVAL OF LAND CORRIDOR.
WOULD APPEAR ALSO TO BE SEARCHING FOR MEANS OF APPLYING
COMMITTEE AND OAU PRESSURE TO EXAMINE BYPASSED POLITICAL

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ASPECTS OF ADDIS AGENDA -- AS LONG AS TIME PERMITS.

3. EMPEROR'S STATEMENT CONFIRMS OUR BELIEF THAT HE WILL
CONTINUE TO RESIST FOR PRESENT ANY MOVES TO TAKE TALKS OUT
OF AFRICAN CONTEXT. HALL

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Authority	VND 9503
By	MNARA Date 10/5/05



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PAGE 01 LAGOS 12480 092005Z

91
ACTION IO 15

INFO AF 16, EUR 15, SAH 02, SR 01, ORM 03, SCA 02, SCS 04, AID 28, CIAE 00,
GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SPI 02, SS 25, USIA 12,
ACDA 16, RSR 01, NSA 02, SA 01, 176 W

R 091700Z SEP 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2462
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY WARSAW
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NY
CINCSRIKE/CINCMCAFSA
DIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 12480

SUBJECT: NIGERIA: INTERNATIONAL OBSERVER TEAM

REF: LAGOS 12430

1. FMG ISSUED TERMS OF REFERENCE FOR OBSERVER TEAM ON
SEPTEMBER 6 BY MEANS OF LETTERS TO AMBASSADORS OF
COUNTRIES CONCERNED (AND PRESUMABLY BY CABLE TO OAU
AND UN).

2. DETAILS ARE AS FOLLOWS:
BEGIN TEXT- TERMS OF REFERENCE.
A) VISITS: TO VISIT ALL WAR AFFECTED AREAS AND NEWLY LIBERATED
AREAS, ON THE FEDERAL CONTROLLED SIDE, TO WITNESS THE
CONDUCT OF FEDERAL TROOPS RE CHARGES OF GENOCIDE, ETC.
SUCH VISITS MAY BE UNDERTAKEN AT THEIR OWN INSTANCE OR AT
THE INSTANCE OF THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT ON RECEIPT
OF ANY INTERNATIONAL ALLEGATIONS ABOUT EH CONDUCT
OF FEDERAL TROOPS IN ANY PARTICULAR AREA.

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By	MN NARA Date 10/5/05



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PAGE 02 LAGOS 12480 092005Z

B) REPORTS: THESE WILL BE MADE TO INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES OR ORGANISATIONS, BUT THE TEAM WILL MAKE THEIR VISITS TOGETHER AND SIGN THEIR REPORTS COLLECTIVELY. MEMBERS ARE ALSO FREE TO PUBLISH SUCH REPORTS IN LAGOS OR ELSEWHERE, BUT COPIES OF ALL REPORTS ISSUED SHOULD BE DEPOSITED WITH THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT.

C) DURATION: TWO MONTHS IN THE FIRST INSTANCE FROM THE TIME ALL THE MEMBERS ASSEMBLE. IT IS HOPED THAT ALL WILL ARRIVE IN LAGOS WITHIN THE WEEK ENDING SEPTEMBER 14. FACILITIES TO BE PROVIDED FOR THE TEAM.

A) HEADQUARTERS: THE TEAM WILL BE BASED IN LAGOS OR ANYWHERE ELSE THEY PREFER, AND IS LOGISTICALLY POSSIBLE. THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE ALL NECESSARY PRECAUTIONS TO GUARANTEE THEIR PERSONAL SAFETY.

C) TRANSPORT: THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT WILL PROVIDE AIR, LAND, AND WATER TRANSPORT, ETC.

C) BOARD AND ACCOMMODATION: THESE WILL BE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT. END TEXT

3. BRITISH, CANADIANS, AND SWEDES HAVE ALL CONFIRMED TO US THAT THEY BELIEVE IT ESSENTIAL THAT EACH OBSERVER HAVE AN ASSISTANT.

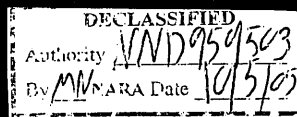
4. ALL THREE ARE EQUALLY INTERESTED IN FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT FOR INDIVIDUAL OBSERVERS. BRITISH ALSO HAVE EXPRESSED HOPE THAT OBSERVERS WILL BE ABLE TO AGREE AMONG THEMSELVES ON BROAD ASPECTS OF REPORTS ON INCIDENTS WHICH TWO OR MORE OBSERVE RATHER THAN FILING CONFLICTING ACCOUNTS.

5. BRITISH TEND TO FEEL THAT DETAILS WILL SORT THEMSELVES OUT AFTER OBSERVERS ARRIVE AND DISCUSS THINGS AMONG THEMSELVES AND WITH FMG. CANADIANS TELL US OTTAWA NOT PARTICULARLY HAPPY WITH TERMS, WHICH THEY FIND REMINISCENT OF THEIR EXPERIENCE IN INDO CHINA.

GP-3.
MATHEWS

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION AF 16

INFO IO 13,SSO 00,NSCE 00,USIE 00,CCO 00,EUR 15,CIAE 00,DODE 00,

GPM 04,H 02,INR 07,L 03,NSAE 00,NSC 10,P 04,RSC 01,SP 02,SS 25,

AID 28,SR 01,ORM 03,SCS 04,SCA 02,E 15,BSR 01,156 W

O P 091650Z SEP 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0000
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
USMISSION USUN NY
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 2 ADDIS ABABA 5643

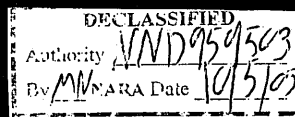
SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PEACE TALKS

FONOFF LATE THIS AFTERNOON RELEASED FOLLOWING "STATEMENT
MADE BY HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY HAILE SELASSIE I DURING THE
ADJOURNMENT SESSION OF THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS ON NIGERIA":

QTE: YOUR EXCELLENCIES,
I. IN AS MUCH AS THE FIFTH SESSION OF THE ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF
STATE AND GOVERNMENT WILL SHORTLY BE CONVENED IN ALGIERS, I TRUST
THAT WE SHALL ALL MEET THERE. AS WE CONCLUDE OUR WORK I WISH TO
EXPRESS MY APPRECIATION TO EACH AND EVERYONE OF YOU FOR YOUR
COOPERATION AND UNDERSTANDING IN OUR EFFORTS TO DISCHARGE THIS
DIFFICULT TASK. THE ROAD WHICH WE HAVE JOURNEYED TOGETHER DURING
THE LAST FIVE WEEKS HAS BEEN LONG AND ARDUOUS. YET, WHEN WE
PONDER THE ENORMITY OF THE TASK ENTRUSTED TO US, WE MUST ALL TAKE
SATISFACTION THAT WE HAVE ATTAINED AGREEMENT IN SOME AREAS AND
PROGRESS IN OTHERS WHICH WILL SERVE AS THE NUCLEUS OF AN OVERALL

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SOLUTION FOR ENDING THE CONFLICT. I DO NOT NEED TO DWELL AT LENGTH ON THE DETAILS OF OUR WORK; I LEAVE THAT TO THE SECRETARIAT.

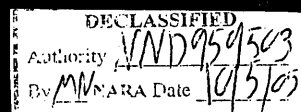
2. AS I HAD OCCASION TO STATE AT THE OPENING OF THIS NEGOTIATION, THE TASK ENTRUSTED TO US WAS, BASICALLY, TWO FOLD: FIRSTLY, HOW TO END THE NIGERIAN CONFLICT PEACEFULLY WITHIN THE MANDATE GIVEN TO THE O.A.U. CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE BY THE FOURTH SESSION OF THE O.A.U. ASSEMBLY OF HEADS OF STATE AND GOVERNMENT; AND, SECONDLY, HOW TO DEAL WITH THE QUESTION OF TRANSPORTING HUMANITARIAN RELIEF TO THE CIVILIAN VICTIMS OF THE CONFLICT.

3. WITH REGARD TO OUR WORK ON THE FIRST POINT, I FEEL THAT BOTH SIDES ARE AWARE THAT I HAVE COMMUNICATED TO ALL MEMBERS OF THE O.A.U. CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE THE RESULTS OF OUR DELIBERATIONS. BRIEFLY, BESIDES THE NEGOTIATIONS IN CAMERA UNDER MY GUIDANCE I HAVE MET PRIVATELY EACH LEADER AND MEMBERS OF DELEGATIONS SEVERAL TIMES IN AN EFFORT AT FINDING COMMON GROUNDS FOR SETTLING THE CONFLICT PEACEFULLY. BUT EACH SIDE HAD MERELY REAFFIRMED AND REITERATED ITS RESPECTIVE POSITIONS AS EXPRESSED BY ITS PROPOSALS. YET, AS I HAD OCCASION TO EXPRESS TO YOU, GENTLEMEN, NO MATTER HOW TRAGIC THE SITUATION AND HOW COMPLEX THE PROBLEM, I WAS HOPEFUL THAT AN END TO THE CONFLICT COULD BE FORTHCOMING PARTICULARLY IN VIEW OF THE SITUATION WHERE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS, PERHAPS MILLIONS, OF NIGERIANS -- VICTIMS OF THE CONFLICT -- WERE AND ARE SUFFERING AND THEIR ANGUISHED CRIES CONTINUE TO BE HEARD THROUGHOUT THE WORLD FOR THE HELP AND RESCUE OF ALL CONCERNED.

4. THE CONFLICT IN NIGERIA HAS NOT COME TO AN END. YET, I DO NOT DESPAIR: A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT TO THE PROBLEM CAN BE ATTAINED IF THERE IS GOODWILL FROM ALL CONCERNED. WE HAVE TOGETHER EXPLORED THE OBSTACLES INVOLVED AND IT IS MY CONVICTION THAT SUCH EXPLORATION IS THE BEGINNING TO A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT OF THE CRISIS. WE MUST PERSEVERE IN OUR BELIEF THAT HOWEVER DIFFICULT THIS TRAGEDY MAY BE, WE CAN AND MUST CONTINUE IN OUR SEARCH FOR AN HONOURABLE SETTLEMENT. IN THIS THE MEMBERS OF THE FAMILY MUST LEAD THE WAY BY MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING AND COMPASSION TOWARDS EACH OTHER. SUCH AN ATTITUDE ON THEIR PART WOULD NOT FAIL TO INFLUENCE OTHERS TO CONSIDER THIS CRISIS AS A PASSING CONVULSION IN THE EVOLUTION OF THE FAMILY. ACCORDINGLY, AS WE ADJOURN THIS QUESTION FOR THE PRESENT, I WISH TO URGE YOU TO THINK OF YOUR FUTURE IN TERMS OF VALUES MORE ENDURING THAN YOUR PRESENT DIFFI-

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CULTIES. FOR MY PART, I DO NOT ABANDON MY CONVICTION THAT WE WILL, WITH GOD'S HELP, FIND A SATISFACTORY SOLUTION TO THE TRAGEDY.

5. WITH REGARD TO THOSE QUESTIONS RELATING TO THE CIVILIAN VICTIMS OF THE CONFLICT, MUCH PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE. FIRSTLY, BOTH SIDES HAVE AGREED TO THE PRINCIPLES OF MY FIRST SET OF COMPROMISE PROPOSALS. BOTH SIDES THEM ACCEPTED MUCH OF THE DETAILS OF MY SECOND SET OF COMPROMISE PROPOSALS. IN THIS REGARD I WISH TO RECALL THAT I HAD SUBMITTED (A) ONE AIR AND LAND CORRIDOR PROPOSALS AND (B) TWO SUCCESSIVE AIR AND LAND CORRIDOR COMPROMISE PROPOSALS. SECONDLY, WE NOW NOW IN MUCH DETAIL THE PREOCCUPATION OF BOTH SIDES ON HOW TO IMPLEMENT THE PRINCIPLES. THIRDLY, IN MY JUDGMENT, THE FACTS WHICH SEPARATE THE TWO SIDES ARE DETAILS WHICH ARE SUSCEPTIBLE TO SOLUTION. PROVIDED THE PARTIES REPOSE TRUST IN EACH OTHER AND IN THE IMDEPENDENT AGENCY THAT I HAVE PROVIDED IN MY LATEST PROPOSALS TO IMPLEMENT AND SUPERVISE THE ARRANGEMENT. FOURTHLY, WE RECOGNIZE THAT THE FEDERAL MILITARY GOVERNMENT OF NIGERIA HAVE AGREED TO THE TRANSPORTATION OF RELIEF SUPPLIES BY AIR TO THE OTHER SIDE IN RESPONSE TO OUR URGING IN ORDER TO HELP THE CIVILIAN VICTIMS OF THE CONFLICT. FIFTHLY, I BELIEVE THAT THE REMAINING DETAILS CAN BE WORKED OUT AT THE MEETING OF THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE WHEN IT CONSIDERS THE DETAILED REPORT OF THE SECRETARIAT IN ALGIERS. I MUST HERE REPEAT WHAT I HAVE ALLUDED ABOVE, THAT IS, THE SOLUTION TO THIS HUMANITARIAN PROBLEM, AS WELL AS TO THE FIRST, NAMELY, THE ENDING OF THE CONFLICT, LIES IN THE WILLINGNESS AND UNDERSTANDING THAT EACH SIDE SHOWS TO THE OTHER. I AND THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE CAN HELP BRIDGE CERTAIN DIFFERENCES BUT CANNOT IMPOSE A SETTLEMENT. IT LIES IN YOUR HANDS AND THAT OF AFRICA TO ARRIVE AT A SOLUTION AND TO MOVE TO THAT MAJOR ISSUE WHICH CAN NO LONGER WAIT.

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By MNNARA Date 10/5/03



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PAGE 01 ADDIS 05643 02 OF 02 092035Z

68
ACTION AT 16

INFO TO 13,SSO 00,NSCE 00,USIE 00,CCO 00,EUR 15,CIAE 00,DODE 00,

OPR 04,H 02,INR 07,L 03,NSAE 00,NSC 10,P 04,RSC 01,SP 02,SS 25,

AID 28,SR 01,ORM 03,SCS 04,SCA 02,E 15,RSR 01,156 W

O P 091600Z SEP 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO DECATATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6965
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY ACCRA
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
RUEKVVZ/AMEMBASSY NIAMEY 112
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE

UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 2 ADDIS ABABA 5643/2

WE HAVE ALSO BEEN ABLE TO ARRANGE FOR AN EMERGENCY AIR COR-
RIDOR TO TRANSPORT RELIEF TO CHILDREN, WOMEN AND THE AGED VICTIMS
OF THE CONFLICT ON THE OTHER SIDE BY THE AGREEMENT OF THE FEDERAL
MILITARY GOVERNMENT ON SEPTEMBER 3, 1968, FOR DIRECT TRANSPORT
FROM FERMANO PO TO ULI AIRPORT. IT IS TRUE THAT
WE HAVE SPENT MUCH TIME IN OUR DELIBERATIONS TO EXPLORE ALL
ALTERNATIVES TO REACH SOME AGREEMENT ON THE EMERGENCY AIRLIFT
OF RELIEF SUPPLIES. AS I HAVE REPEATEDLY STATED, THE TIME SPENT
WILL BE WORTHWHILE IF WE REALLY ACHIEVE SOME CONSENSUS ON THE
HUMANITARIAN ASPECT OF THE PROBLEM. IT IS GRATIFYING TO NOTE
THAT THE OFFER OF DIRECT AIR TRANSPORTATION OF RELIEF SUPPLIES
FROM FERMANO PO HAS BEEN ACCEPTED BY THE OTHER SIDE. ALTHOUGH
THERE HAS NOT YET BEEN AGREEMENT ON THE AIRSTRIP WHERE THE
RELIEF SUPPLIES SHOULD LAND. I TRUST THAT IMMEDIATE AGREEMENT
CAN BE REACHED ON THIS MINOR ISSUE SO THAT THE RELIEF AGENCIES
WILL URGENTLY DELIVER THE MATERIAL TO THE NEEDY.

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7. AFRICA SHOULD NOT AND CANNOT AFFORD TO SQUANDER AWAY ITS RESOURCES IN SUCH TRAGEDIES. HER PEOPLES AND SOCIETIES MUST LEARN THAT THERE CAN BE GREAT UNITY EVEN IN DIVERSITY. WE MUST IN SHORTEN RIDE IN SUPREME SERENITY SUCH CONVULSIONS AND NEVER DESPAIR THAT OUR FUTURE LIES IN STANDING TOGETHER.

8. DISTINGUISHED GUESTS: IN CONCLUSION. CRISES SUCH AS OURS HAVE OCCURRED IN THE PAST -- PERHAPS MORE AFTER -- AND MAY YET OCCUR. THE CRISIS IN NIGERIA IS OF PARTICULAR CONCERN NOT ONLY TO THOSE OF US WHO HAVE SPECIAL DUTY TO PERFORM BUT TO THE ENTIRE CONTINENT. AS IT MAY WELL AFFECT THE RELATIONSHIP OF THE STATES AND PEOPLES IN OUR CONTINENT. WE ARE, THEREFORE, BURDENED WITH GREAT RESPONSIBILITY TOWARDS THE AFRICAN STATES AND PEOPLES TO ACT IN SUCH A WAY SO AS NOT TO HARM THEIR HARMONIOUS GROWTH TOWARDS THE IDEALS ENSHRINED IN THE CHARTER OF THE O.A.U. I TRUST THAT WE WILL NOT FAIL TO APPRECIATE THAT FACT THAT ONLY IN THE CONTINUED TRUST OF EACH OTHER CAN WE HOPE TO ATTAIN THE SPIRITUAL AND MATERIAL WELL-BEING OF OUR PEOPLES. UNQTE HALL

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Authority	VND 954503
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Pol 27-14 Biafra Nigeria

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PAGE 01 STOCKH 02793 091522Z

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ACTION IO 15

INFO AF 09, EUR 15, NSA 02, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03,
NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03,
SCA 02, SAH 02, SA 01, SCS 04, RSR 01, 153 W

R 091430Z SEP 68
FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2735
INFO USUN NEW YORK 115
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN UNN
AMCONSUL GOTEBOG UNN
AMEMBASSY HELSINKI UNN
AMEMBASSY OSLO UNN
AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK UNN

C O N F I D E N T I A L STOCKHOLM 2793

SUBJECT: NIGERIA

REF: (A) USUN 6377; (B) LAGOS 12430

ALTHOUGH NORDIC LETTER TO U THANT DOES LAY GROUNDWORK FOR
POSSIBLE FUTURE REQUEST FOR SC SESSION ON NIGERIA (REF A),
IT APPEARS FROM HERE THAT COMMENTS OF AMB SWARTZ IN LAGOS (REF
B) MOST ACCURATELY REFLECT PRESENT GOS POSITION. OBERG
(PERSONAL ASSISTANT TO FONMIN) REMARKED TO EMBOFF SEPTEMBER
8 THAT RECOURSE TO COUNCIL WOULD BE "WORST WAY" TO BRING ABOUT
RESOLUTION OF NIGERIAN PROBLEM.

GP-3
HEATH

CONFIDENTIAL

0854

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 959503
By MVA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 ADDIS 05614 071234Z

47
ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, TO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00,

NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25, USIA 12, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03,

RSR 01, 146 W

P 071040Z SEP 68
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6946
INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION USUN

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5614

SUBJECT: ADDIS NIGERIAN TALKS

1. WHILE HIM'S NIGERIAN TALKS STILL CONSIDERED AT LEAST FORMALLY IN SESSION AND HE HAS TAKEN NO ACTION TO ADJOURN OR TERMINATE THEM, NO MEETINGS WITH TWO SIDES HAVE BEEN HELD SINCE SEP 4, WHEN BIAFRANS FORMALLY NOTIFIED HIM OF REJECTION LINDT-GOWON AGREEMENT.

2. FMG DELS TOLD BRITISH EMB LATE SEPT 6 THEY FELT BALL NOW IN BIAFRAN COURT AND THEY CONTENT TO WAIT OUT BIAFRAN RESPONSE ON LINDT-GOWON PROPOSAL. THEY WERE CONFIDENT LINDT-GOWON AGREEMENT, FMG OBSERVER PROPOSAL, AND CURRENT MIL SUCCESSES HAD GREATLY IMPROVED FMG POSITION IN RELATION ADDIS TALKS AND ALGIERS CONFERENCE.

3. BRITISH EMB EXPECTS LITTLE FURTHER ACTION IN ADDIS TALKS, OTHER THAN FINAL SESSIONS TO SAW OFF TALKS. THEY EXPECT HIM TO ANNOUNCE TERMINATION ADDIS TALKS BY TUES OR WED NEXT WEEK (SEPT 10-11), PREPARATORY TO TAKING HIS FINAL REPORT TO ALGIERS SUMMIT SEPT 12 OR 13. HALL

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Chadler Ababa 5614
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PAGE 01 LAGOS 12375 051843Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO EUR 15, IO 13, NSA 02, CIAE 00, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04,

RSC 01, Sp 02, SS 25, USIA 12, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, SCA 02, SCS 04,

SAH 02, RSR 01, /156 W

R 051220Z SEP 68
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2412
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
LAOSUC/AMEMBASSY KINSHASA 870
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
CINCSTRIKE/CINCMEAFSA
DIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 12375

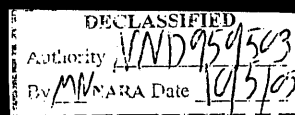
SUBJECT: INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS IN NIGERIA

CANADIAN HICOM (PROTECT) HAS PASSED US FOLLOWING TELEGRAM OF
SEPT 5 TO OTTAWA ON ABOVE SUBJECT:

1. QTE EA PERMSEC BABA GANA ASSURED ME TODAY FMG WAS
PREPARING LET TO AGENCIES AND GOVTS CONCERNED OUTLINING
PROPOSED TERMS OF REF FOR OBSERVER TEAM. HE HOPED THIS
WOULD BE IN OUR HANDS BEFORE WEEKEND. ON OTHER SPECIFIC
POINTS RAISED BY YOU HE SAID: A) TEAM WOULD HAVE FULL
FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT AND ACCESS TO INFOOU HELICOPTERS WOULD
BE EXPECTED TO BE AVAILABLE AND NO/NO EFFORT WOULD BE SPARED
TO SAFEGUARD SECURITY OF TEAM MEMBERS. B) DURATION OF TEAM'S
SERVICE WOULD DEPEND ON WISHES OF MEMBERS. FMG AT
THIS TIME COULD NOT/NOT MAKE ACCURATE ESTIMATE. C) TEAM

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 12375 051843Z

MEMBERS WOULD BE FREE TO REPORT TO WHATEVER AUTHORITIES THEY WISHED TO CONTACT. D) WHOLE OBJECTIVE OF OBSERVER EXERCISE FROM FMG'S STANDPOINT WAS TO INFORM OUTSIDE WORLD FMG WAS NOT/NOT BENT ON GENOCIDE OR WAR ON IBO CIVILIAN POPULATION. FMG CONSIDERED IT HAD NOTHING TO HIDE ON ITS CONDUCT OF WAR.

2. QTE I ASKED BABA GANA WHY CDA HAD BEEN ADDED TO ORIGINAL INVITATION. HE SAID INVITATION TO CDA WAS OFFERED BECAUSE REPORTS CDN OBSERVER WOULD COMMAND UNUSUAL RESPECT IN OUTSIDE WORLD.

3. QTE BABA GANA ADDED INITIAL REACTIONS OF ALL INVITEES HAD BEEN FAVOURABLE IN PRINCIPLE. OAU MIGHT NOT/NOT BE IN POSITION TO MAKE FIRM DECISION UNTIL HEADS OF STATE CONFERENCE IN ALGIERS WAS UNDERWAY.

4. QTE REGULAR CONSULTATIONS BETWEEN REPS OF INVITEES AT UN OR SOME OTHER CONVENIENT POINT WOULD IN MY OPINION FACILITATE DECISIONS. UNQTE.

MATHEWS

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 ADDIS. 05546 031442Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO IO 13, CCO 00, GIAE 00, DODE 00, NSAE 00, NSCE 00, SSO 00, USIE 00,

SAH 02, GPM 04, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSC 10, P 04, RSC 01, SP 02, SS 25,

SCS 04, SCA 02, SR 01, ORM 03, AID 28, EUR 15, RSR 01, /142 W

U 031414Z SEPT 68

FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6898

INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS IMMEDIATE

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5546

SUBJ: NIGERIAN PEACE TALKS

1. AMB CALLED ON MINISTER OF STATE TEFAYE TODAY NOON TO GET HIS LATEST READING ON THE EMPERIOR'S APPROACH TO GOWAN. TEFAYE SAID THAT FMG HAD AGREED TO PERMIT AIR RELIEF SHIPMENTS VIA FERNANDO PO AND ANNABELLE AIRSTRIP FOR A PERIOD OF SEVEN DAYS. IEG HAS EXPRESSED CONCERN THAT THE MIL FORCE NEEDED TO PATROL THIS AIRSTRIP WOULD BE GREATER THAN ITS CAPABILITIES WOULD ALLOW AND HIM HAS GONE BACK TO GOWAN TO URGE HIM TO ACCEPT USE OF OBILAGO AIRSTRIP.

2. IEG ALSO ASKING CANADIANS, DUTCH, BRITISH AND CERTAIN AFRICANS TO APPROACH GOWAN IN SUPPORT HIM'S REQUEST. TEFAYE WONDERED WHETHER THE US WOULD BE ABLE TO ASSIST IN THIS VENTURE BUT DID NOT PRESS WHEN AMB MENTIONED THAT VARIOUS APPROACHES ALREADY MADE TO FMG HAD PUSHED MATTERS ABOUT AS FAR AS WE FELT PRODUCTIVE TO GO.

3. TEFAYE SAID THAT HIM HAS ALSO SENT A MESSAGE TO LINDT ASKING LATTER TO HOLD OFF FOR FEW DAYS ON INITIATION NEW ICRC FLIGHTS. HALL

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Authority	VND 959503
By	MW NARA
Date	10/5/03

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 12294 031532Z

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ACTION AF 15

INFO IO 13,CCO 00,CIAE 00,DODE 00,NSAE 00,NSCE 00,SSO 00,USIE 00,

SAH 02,GPM 04,H 02,INR 07,L 03,NSC 10,P 04,RSC 01,SP 02,SS 25,

SCS 04,SCA 02,SR 01,ORM 03,AID 28,EUR 15,RSR 01,142 W

O P 031515Z SEP 68 ZFF-3

FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2363

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 12294

REF: ADDIS ABABA 5546

LINDT HAD MEETING WITH GOWON BEINNING AT 0800Z THIS MORNING.
TALKS WITH FMG MAY STILL BE GOING ON. STRONGLY URGE
INITIATIVES SUCH AS DESCRIBED REFTEL BE DELAYED IF POSSIBLE
UNTIL RESULTS THESE TALKS KNOWN.

GP-3. MATHEWS

Microfilmed by DS/R

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Authority VND 959503
By MNARA Date 10/5/05

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE: ☐ COLLECT
☐ CHARGE TO

SECRET

Classification

Origin

ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS IMMEDIATE

Info

INFO: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY
Amembassy LONDON PRIORITY
* US Mission GENEVA PRIORITY
USUN - PRIORITY

STATE

REFERENCE: (a) LONDON 12294; (b) LAGOS 12260; (c) ADDIS ABABA 5522; (d) ADDIS ABABA 5520

SUBJECT: ICRC FLIGHTS TO BIAFRA

1. You should inform Arikpo at earliest opportunity of following, emphasizing our strong view that Nigerian attack on ICRC air-craft would have grave and far-reaching consequences.
2. We have, as Arikpo knows, supported concept of land or water corridor as most practicable means of moving relief supplies in needed quantities. In absence agreement on such a corridor, however, fundamental and urgent humanitarian concerns have caused ICRC to conclude that it can no longer delay start of daytime flights ^{on} ~~and~~ provisional and temporary basis to alleviate suffering of innocent civilians. ICRC has established conditions of control which we are confident will succeed ~~in~~

Drafted by:

AEW:RPSmith:chg:9/1/68

Clearance:

Tel. Ext.

6402

Telegraphic transmission and

classification approved by:

RMMelbourne - Nigerian Task Force

AF: Mr. Palmer (subs.)
AF: Ambassador Moore (draft)

SECRET

Classification

FORM DS-322
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TR POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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